THE NEW TESTAMENT WORLD

H. E. DANA

Sanhedrin. Wife of Christ
Lessons Read in Recon-
Herods Temple.

Basic Facts 310-

"Jerusalem" after chapel

Rev. 22:5

Outer Court Service

Holy Place - Communion

Holy of Holies - Worship

Holy of holies - a wonderful picture of heaven -

1. all earthly or human light shut out. (Shekinah Glory) only light.

3. Room was filled with Glory of God.

4. Entrance to that place was through the blood.

5. Every one of us can come in through the rent veil - (when Christ died on Calvary's Cross)

Prayer after cross of Christ

THE NEW TESTAMENT WORLD

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE HISTORY AND CONDITIONS WHICH COMPOSE THE BACKGROUND OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Second Edition—Revised and Enlarged.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Historical Approach to the New Testament	1
	Part I. Judaism	
II.	The Land of Judaism	13
III.	The History of Judaism	23
IV.	The Life of Judaism	59
V.	The Literature of Judaism	100
	Part II. Hellenism	
VI.	The Roman Empire	126
VII.	Greek Culture	139
VIII.	Graeco-Roman Society	163
IX.	Religion In the Graeco-Roman World	187

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORICAL APPROACH TO THE NEW TESTAMENT

By the historical approach to the New Testament we mean the effort to understand it in the light of its own environment. It is the effort of the interpreter to detach himself from his own surroundings and yield his thought processes to the influences of first century life, to create within himself as nearly as possible a first century consciousness, and thereby discern just what were the factors and directions of the thought expressed upon the pages of the New Testament. The historical approach is the endeavor of the interpreter to provide his mind with the materials whereby he may think again the thoughts of the New Testament writers for the same reasons, in the same attitude, and from the same viewpoint which they had as they wrote.

Unquestionably there has not been any other single cause contributing more to the erroneous interpretations which have been forced upon the New Testament than the failure to employ the historical approach, or the "historical method," as it is commonly called. Many interpreters unconsciously remove the New Testament from its first century surroundings and interpret it in view of their own environment, and the doctrinal or moral exigencies of their own situation. Such an interpretation seeks to *determine* (not to *discover*) the meaning of the New Testament in the light of the situations, ideas, modes of thought, customs, controversies, etc., of the existing times instead of New Testament times, and inevitably results in perversion. The only way to rightly understand the New Testament is to see it in the light of its own history.

To employ the historical approach the interpreter must be able to visualize a situation very different from his own, and by the use of historical imagination orient his consciousness with the surroundings of another age. Especially is it necessary that he apprehend the Semitic mode of thought and point of view, for with but one probable exception the New Testament writers were Jews. And on the other hand, since in its literary form and considerable of its thought content

the New Testament is a product of Greek culture, the interpreter must have a knowledge of Hellenism of the first century. Furthermore, since both the Semitic and Hellenic elements were situated in an Oriental environment, the character of the Oriental mind must be considered in an adequate interpretation.

Contention for this method of approaching the New Testament will inevitably raise some insistent questions in the mind of the evangelical student. First of all, since the New Testament is the divine truth of redemption, he will wish to know why we need to concern ourselves with common factors of human history. And how may earthly conditions be employed in the effort to understand this heavenly message? Moreover, what features of historical environment could have any bearing upon a divine revelation of spiritual and eternal verities? That is, what are the *reason*, the *method* and the *elements* of the historical approach? Whereas the supreme design of this discussion is to serve the devout evangelical student, we wish to answer these questions before even beginning our inquiry into the historical background of the New Testament.

The Reason for the Historical Approach

The reason for the historical approach lies in the undeniable and inevitable human element in the New Testament. This human element is as essential to its efficiency in man's spiritual experience as its divine element. It was impossible for God to speak to man and be understood without involving in His message this human element. Even if the New Testament were a collection of divine oracles independent of any connection with human experience, these oracles would necessarily be expressed in human language. But on the contrary, an inductive study of the books of the New Testament proves that they were not oracular messages given from heaven without any earthly medium, but actually arose from real human conditions and were affected by normal human influences. The human element is simply a fact which unmistakably presents itself on the pages of the New Testament as they lie before us.

But it is also accepted here as a fact that the human element alone fails to explain this Book. We believe that the divine

element is also necessary to account for it in a satisfactory way. One meets as grave difficulties who endeavors to explain the New Testament by the human element exclusivly, as are encountered in the effort to understand it as exclusively divine. Both must be accepted if we satisfy the demands of all the facts.

The human element in the New Testament exhibits itself in several clearly defined features.

(1) *The Imprint of Human Individuality.* The various authors present different styles, different modes of thought, different groups of ideas, and different forms of expression. No one can study closely the writings of Paul and John without being impressed with the difference between the two. Paul's style is in the main rugged and complicated, while John's is simple and smooth. This is, of course, to be detected primarily in the Greek text, but even the English text exhibits it to some extent. Paul views Christian truth as a system of logically related principles which he calls "the gospel," while John sees in it a group of concrete, mystical ideas which he calls "the truth." With Paul the problem of human redemption is in the antithesis of law and grace, works and faith, merit and justification. With John the antithesis is of life and death, light and darkness. In Mark we find the loose and broken style of the typical vernacular, while Luke's writings present a literary finish which compares favorably with some of the best Greek literature of his day. These differences are plain and undeniable phenomena which appear in the New Testament, and can only be accounted for as the free and normal play of individual faculties.

(2) *The Effects of Human Relationships.* The New Testament carries clear traces of the life out of which it came. It was written by Jews—with the probable exception of the Third Gospel and Acts—and is distinctly a Jewish book. For many centuries it was claimed that the language of the New Testament was a sort of special Holy Ghost speech, divinely provided for the purpose. This idea arose because of the fact that the language of the New Testament is not like the ancient Attic or classical Greek, and likewise differs considerably from the more modern Greek. But within the last century it has been learned that the New Testament was composed in the ordinary colloquial Greek of the world of its day. The New

Testament reflects certain Palestinian customs and ideas, without a knowledge of which it would be impossible to interpret some passages. Who could understand how a woman could anoint the feet of Jesus while he was dining, without the knowledge that in that day they were accustomed to recline at meals? Why should Peter be praying on the roof of the house in which he was being entertained as an honored guest? Who were the "publicans," and why were they held in such utter contempt by the orthodox Jews of Jesus' day? Many such matters can only be understood in the light of the history and current practices of the time.

(3) *The Materials of Human Experience.* Every book or discourse of the New Testament has some sort of connection with an ordinary historical situation. With the exception of a few instances, we may discern fairly well what these situations were. Men in the midst of their life's experiences, in order to meet problems and demands of their own environment, wrote or spoke their impassioned messages. To know these historical situations augments to an immeasurable degree the understanding and appreciation of the particular book or passage under consideration. When we can seat ourselves upon a grassy hillside in Galilee and become in mind and sympathies one of the throng gathered there nineteen centuries ago, we are then able to respond to the full force of the message of Jesus. Galatians, with its rich exposition of the plan of salvation, becomes a new and vastly more significant book when one enters fully into the spirit of the controversy which called it forth from the pen of the great apostle. When one can sit with the assembled church at Colossee, and become in thought an integral part of that first century congregation, feeling in his own consciousness their hopes and fears and reactions, he is prepared to understand fully the message of Paul to the Colossians. If one can join the assembly of the congregation at Pergamum about 96 A. D., imagine himself surrounded with all the terrors of persecution and confusion of heresy, and listen to an elder of that first century church as he reads the Apocalypse of John, that otherwise enigmatic book takes on a fascination and force without parallel in human literature. Practically every book of the New Testament rep-

resents some crucial experience through which the author and readers were passing.

Thus we find that in its mechanical structure, in the life it reflects, and in the experiences which furnished its occasion, the New Testament exhibits an unmistakable and richly valuable human element. The importance of recognizing in interpretation this human element can scarcely be over-stressed. The New Testament can never be rightly understood and appreciated if approached as a collection of oracles handed down from heaven, without any reference to the human experience and environment with which it was orginally connected. It is, indeed, the divine revelation of redemption, but this revelation did not arise as a product independent of historical relations. God was pleased to reveal His redemption in and through history, and we are not able to rightly comprehend that revelation until we approach it from the historical side. The New Testament is God's redemptive truth mediated to men through human experience and human consciousness. When viewed in this light it is best understood and confers its greatest blessing.

This fact that the New Testament is clearly interwoven with the great currents of human history should in no way become a hinderance to faith or reverence, but an aid to both. It should be profoundly inspiring to realize that God is as certainly immanent in history as He is in the Bible. It is but a different kind of immanence. His immanence in history is the course of ordinary providence. His immanence in the Bible is by special revelation. History is indeed "His story". It is a record of God's disposition of human destiny. History is the entire landscape of divine redemption, and the New Testament is the glory-crowned mountain peak which lends radiant grace and beauty to the whole. All the contours of antecedent and subsequent history converge in the commanding vantage ground of its transcendent heights. All the elements contributed to its formal contents by anterior and contemporaneous history exhibit human life elevated and illuminated by the glorious meaning of God's redemptive plan. Viewed in this way the New Testament as a product and factor of human history is seen to be all the more the handiwork of God. The same God who, on the divine side, was inspiring the individual

writers, was also at work providing an adequate historical situation in which His kingdom might be founded. Under the glow of this holy light the first Christian century presents a signifance which is, and is destined to remain, without parallel in all the annals of mankind.

The Method of the Historical Approach

Now that we have clearly before us the fact of the historical relations of the New Testament, we confront next the question of the correct process in applying these historical relations in interpretation. The important point is to discern the real bearing of the environmental conditions upon the thought expressed in the New Testament. The historical setting was not the original source of the thought and teaching. The high hopes, exalted conception and holy ideals which constitute the essential character of apostolic life came from contact with Jesus and the experiences which grew out of his resurrection and the advent of the Holy Spirit. Had it not been for these fundamental facts of experience the forces of historical environment could never have provided such transcendent results. Therefore historical environment only affected the external frame-work of the gospel; its inner heart was the product of an experience in Christ. We are to use the historical approach in understanding the forms of expression, the pre-suppositions assumed, the conditions reflected, and the reasons for the directions of thought and life in the New Testament. That is, the writers used terminology, phraseology and figures of speech current in their time; they took for granted ideas or facts which they knew were already familiar to their readers; they wrote because of the demands of certain existing circumstances; they were engaged in applying the gospel message to situations confronting them. The twentieth century student must have some knowledge of these features of the life behind the New Testament before he can adequately understand its message. Such is the process involved in the historical approach.

1. *The Steps in the Historical Approach.* The interpretation of the New Testament by this method requires three distinct steps.

(1) One should begin with a survey of the entire background, and consider the reaction of the historical environ-

ment upon the whole scope of the thought and life reflected in or expressed by the New Testament. The experience of apostolic Christianity is a segment of the life of the Graeco-Roman world of the first century. The strata which compose this segment of experience are inevitably possessed in common with all the life surrounding it. The historical method undertakes to comprehend the outlying regions of life which bound primitive Christian experience, and thereby detect the factors which molded apostolic consciousness on the historical side.

(2) The circumstances which occasioned the production of a particular document are next to be investigated. This is the material which makes up the "introduction" to the interpretation of a New Testament book.

(3) Then there is the historical interpretation of a single passage, event or idea. It is a fact beyond dispute that no expression of human thought in any form can be detached from the relations of living experience. The communication of an idea is *per se* the expression of consciousness, and consciousness can not escape the effects of environment. Therefore any expression of thought reflects a circumstantial setting. For this reason every sentence in the New Testament has its historical background. Adequate interpretation must take this fundamental fact into account. To be a competent student of the New Testament one must nowhere abandon the historical approach.

2. *Limitations of the Historical Approach.* The historical approach is not without some very important restrictions. Just as important as apprehending what is the true historical method, is to honestly recognize what is not essentially the historical method. Lack of caution, and abuse actuated by prejudice, have done serious damage in the employment of the historical method, and won for it an unjust disfavor from evangelical quarters. There are essential limitations which honesty demands that the historical student respect.

(1) The historical method does not require that we reduce the New Testament to what we may regard as natural, or scientifically explicable. Its proper motive is to elucidate records of the past, not to repudiate them. The historical approach is to be sharply distinguished from the naturalistic or

rationalistic approach. It is an abuse of the historical method to use it as a means of conforming the New Testament to a certain type of mind, an attitude of skepticism toward the supernatural. One who wishes to exploit such an attitude of mind has an inalienable legal right to do so, but should not do so in the name of the historical method, and rule out of the court of historical enquiry all who do not subscribe to this attitude. It is not necessary as a prerequisite to the historical method that we abandon our confidence in the New Testament as a redemptive interposition of God into the current of human history. And God's entrance into human history for purposes of redemption can not rightly be limited by what a modern or modernistic mind may regard as scientifically acceptable. The historical method is attempting more than it is equal to when it undertakes to regulate God's use of His world.

(2) The historical method does not require us to regard a religious interpretation of events as the invention or perversion of tradition. Because the New Testament writers had an intense religious interest in what they recorded or discussed, and clothed their accounts of events in the impressions of reflection and experience, does not disqualify them as dependable historians. On the contrary, it heightens the value of their records. Just suppose the historians of the Apostolic Age as giving us a New Testament which is nothing more than naked annals, a disinterested chronicle of events, divested of all its marvelous impact upon their own conscience and experience and its eternal aspect as it arises from the crucible of their impassioned souls, and then imagine if you can how much appeal it would make to the religious mind of a generation nineteen centuries removed from those events. It is that very document of the New Testament which is most extensively elaborated by spiritual interpretation that has defined the conception of Jesus for Christianity—*viz.*, the Fourth Gospel. It is not the facts of first century Christian history in which we are primarily interested, but the functional factors of first century Christian experience. Therefore the competent historical student finds substantial value in the reflected reaction of first century Christian consciousness to the events of the period, and

does not challange the historicity of the tradition because of the religious interpretation.

(3) The historical method does not require that we reject the New Testament as a valid norm for Christian belief and experience. Here the historical approach is to be distinguished from a certain form of modern philosophy which accepts the hypothesis that truth is fluid and relative rather than stable and absolute, and that therefore no revelation of truth can be given in history which is a final norm for all subsequent generations. The purpose of the historical approach is to discern the facts and interpret their operation in first century Christian experience: it is not its province to prescribe what those facts and their significance are to mean to the views and conscience of the twentieth century individual. It does not therefore disqualify one as a historical student because he sees in the New Testament a standard for his own religious experience.

It is evident that the historical method has its real and valuable purpose, and need not be rejected as in any sense a menace to the most devout Christian faith.

The Elements of the Historical Approach.

Its human element constitutes the New Testament a part of the great current of human history. It is not primarily a book of history, but it is in very truth a historical book. It is itself an event with essential historical connections. An event is always related in two ways with the progress of history. There is the history out of which it comes as a result, and there is the history into which it comes as a factor. The New Testament presents both these historical relations.

1. There is a *history out of which the New Testament came as a result.* This constitutes the historical background of its contents. Antecedent history contributed to the New Testament several very definite elements. There is repeated reference to various sects, institutions and customs which originated in preceding centuries, such as the Pharisees, the Sadducees, the sanhedrin, the synagogue, etc. Well established and familiar modes of expression were used by Jesus, such as didactic discourse and parables. Current religious conceptions of standard Judaism are adopted or reflected by the New Testament, such as God, immortality, judgment, angels, Messiah, etc. Greek

terminology and the influence of Greek thought are found. The existing political status is frequently referred to. These and many other features require a knowledge of prior history for adequate interpretation.

2. There is a *history into which the New Testament came as a factor.* This constitutes the historical background of its functions. The New Testament is not merely the passive result of a few combined forces. It is pre-eminently an active agency, demonstrating inherent powers which have wrought unparalleled marvels in the course of human history. It can not be adequately understood unless treated in the light of its reaction upon the world into which it came. First century Christianity as an active agency is related to its environment at six principal points.

(1) *The Political Environment.* The thinking of an individual is inevitably affected by that which is going on around him. This is true of his political as well as his personal surroundings. Not enough attention has been given to political conditions in the study of Jesus and His apostles. The more unsettled the political conditions the more pronounced their effect upon the thought of the individual. The larger Roman world of the first century was in a relatively stable and orderly condition, but Palestine was perpetually distressed by the vicious resentment of the Jewish loyalists against the Roman rule, to which many were never reconciled. The spirit of rebellion increased in intensity after the annexation of Judea as a Roman province in A. D. 6, breaking forth into a general revolt sixty years later. This political unrest had constantly a tacit, and frequently a manifest, effect upon the life out of which the New Testament arose. And even outside Palestine there were political conditions and regulations which have important bearing upon apostolic history. Therefore to properly understand the thought expressed in the New Testament one must know what was the political status of the New Testament world.

(2) *The Economic Environment.* Nothing save the miracle of divine grace has ever been able to make the thought of man transcend the limits of his physical environment, and even then he does not wholly escape the contacts. It is consequently necessary to know how first century people were living in

home, business and travel in order to secure the best interpretation of the New Testament.

(3) *The Social Environment.* The methods and consequences of men's relations with one another influence thought, and must be considered in interpretation. Social distinctions, grades of culture, home life, and other elements of the society into which it came had their obvious relation to the Christian message.

(4) *The Intellectual Environment.* No one in his thinking, if he thinks rationally, can be independent of the thought of those about him. Thought is social as well as individual. It is natural for us to think in view of what we know is in the minds of our contemporaries, and then express our thought in such fashion as to form the most effectual possible contact with their mental processes. For this reason the conceptions and directions of thought of a given age are the common property of that age, so to understand its literature one must know how the people in general were then thinking. Since Christianity presented, along with its distinctive religious content, a philosophy of life, it would naturally react in a large measure upon the prevalent forms and tendencies of thought. Christianity is the distinctively rational religion, and has ever made its appeal to thinking minds. Its contact with the thought of the first century is quite clearly reflected in the New Testament.

(5) *The Moral Environment.* There is a moral emphasis which belongs to the essential nature of the Christian religion. This moral emphasis is especially prominent in the teaching of Jesus, and also found positive expression in the teaching of his followers. This ethical idealism stood out in sharp contrast with the world of that day. To fully appreciate the New Testament we need to get a view of the excessive corruption of the Graeco-Roman world. On the other hand, we should in fairness observe that there were moral teachings in some of the Greek philosophy of the day which offered a congenial contact to Christianity. All these moral elements, with their proper character and relations, should be familiar to the interpreter of the New Testament.

(6) *The Religious Environment.* There is no other phase of experience of such vital interest to the New Testament stu-

dent as the religious conditions. It is in this realm that Christianity sought to function, and at this point the New Testament most deeply affected its own age. Consequently, it is but natural that its message should reflect many elements derived from this phase of its environment. This environment presented many religious contacts. By no means did Christianity enter a field where there was no competition as a religion. There has never been a part of the world nor an era of history when religions were more numerous or vigorous than they were in the Graeco-Roman world of the first century. It was inevitable that Christianity should react upon these rival religions. When we understand their nature we may perceive their relation to the New Testament.

These elements of the New Testament world belong to two great fields of first century life, which were intimately related, and yet quite distinct in their general character. These two fields were *Judaism* and *Hellenism*. Judaism embraces the life, thought and products of the Jews. It had its chief center in Jerusalem, and its most fruitful field of operation in Palestine. Hellenism comprehends the influence and conditions of the Gentile world with which the New Testament came in contact. We describe it as Hellenism because Greek literature and philosophy were the dominant forces in the intellectual and religious life. Judaism had to do chiefly with the factors which produced New Testament life, while the Graeco-Roman or Hellenistic environment had to do chiefly with the functions exercised by New Testament life. However, each of them operated in both phases of the historical background.

Part I. Judaism

CHAPTER II

THE LAND OF JUDAISM

Some one has said with great truth, "You can not learn history until you get it on the ground." That is, it will greatly aid one in obtaining a knowledge of past events and their signifance if he will become familiar with the geographical stage upon which these events transpired. This is in an unusual way true of the New Testament. It is of greatest importance to its proper interpretation that we connect it with the land to which it is most closely related. Limits of space here require that we give but a bare sketch of the geography of Palestine.

General Features.

There are certain matters related to the land as a whole to which we should first give attention.

(1) *Boundaries.* The western boundary of Palestine was formed by the Mediterranean Sea. On the north were the towering peaks of the Lebanon and Anti-Libanon Mountains, lying in the Roman province of Syria. To the west and south lay the kingdom of Arabia.

(2) *Climate.* Palestine is situated in the great desert district of southwestern Asia, and consequently its climate is calculated to be very dry. However, its proximity to the Mediterranean Sea mitigates to a considerable extent this condition. The Palestinian year may be divided into the wet and dry season. The wet season begins in October; the dry season in April. Hence most of the farming must be done in the winter months, to take advantage of the rainfall, which averages only twenty to thirty inches annually. Snow is rare, except in the high mountains. As to temperature, the climate of Palestine is temperate. There are sometimes sudden changes in temperature, but not to great extremes. The average temperature is sixty-five degrees, seldom rising above ninety in the summer, or falling below forty-five in the winter.

(3) *Cities.* There are several of the more important cities of Palestine with the location and character of which every

New Testament student should be familiar. Naturally the one which first attracts our attention is *Jerusalem.* It is located a short distance east of the latitudinal center of Judea, and almost due west of the upper end of the Dead Sea. It is some 2,400 feet above sea-level, and thirty-four miles from the Mediterranean coast. The site of the city is on the crest of the western mountain range, and is consequently rather irregular in topography. The central ridge of the mountain range passes just west of the city, while Mt. Olivet lies on the east. Thus the city lies in a triangular basin, bounded on three sides by mountain ridges. Of course between these mountains and the city there are valleys, which enclose the city on three sides, leaving it readily accessible only from the north. On the eastern side is the Kidron Valley, while to the west and south runs the Valley of Hinnom, or *Gehenna.* From remotely ancient times Jerusalem was surrounded with walls, the remains of which are still in existence. The walls were penetrated by several gates, the exact number and location of which are matters of debate. Within the walls the city is situated upon two ridges, the western, with Mt. Zion as its summit, being the higher, longer and more massive; the lower being on the east side, the crest of which was Mt. Moriah, the Temple site. Each of these ridges is cleft by a deep ravine; consequently, the physical formation of the city consisted of four principal elevations, Mt. Zion being the highest and in the extreme southwestern corner, while Mt. Moriah was the second highest, and lay farther north and east. At the upper end of the triangular basin, to the north of the city walls, the two ridges merged into a plateau.

Six miles south of Jerusalem was *Bethlehem,* the birthplace of our Lord. In New Testament times it was scarcely more than a village. About two miles east of Jerusalem was the town of *Bethany,* home of Lazarus and his sisters, devoted friends of our Lord. About fifteen miles northeast of Jerusalem, at the edge of the Jordan valley, was the ancient city of *Jericho.*

We think next of *Nazareth,* the boyhood home of Jesus. It is located on the southern edge of the hills of lower Galilee, just above the Plain of Esdraelon. Through it passed one of the most frequented Roman roads, from Capernaum to the

coast. On the same road, five miles northeast of Nazareth, was *Cana*, scene of Christ's first miracle.

Most of the active ministry of Jesus revolved about *Capernaum*. The exact site of this city is in dispute, but in general we may say that it was located near the northern end of the Sea of Galilee, to the west of the Jordan. It was situated on the great caravan route from Damascus to the Mediterranean, known as the "Way of the Sea" *Via Maria*, and seems to have been a city of considerable size and importance. In its vicinity were *Bethsaida* and *Chorazin*.

Two cities on the coast are of interest to the New Testament student. *Caesarea*, about sixty miles northwest of Jerusalem, was built by Herod and named for his Roman patron. It was a thoroughly Hellenistic city, and consequently despised by the Jews. North of west from Jerusalem, and about forty miles away, was *Joppa*, which was dominated by Jewish influence. These towns played an important part in early Christian history.

(4) *Roads*. Palestine in New Testament times was threaded by a number of highways. Some of these the Romans paved, and remains of the pavement are in existence to the present day. However, quite probably there were not any paved roads in Palestine in the time of Christ. But at least the principal roads were maintained under Roman supervision. There were four main roads. Two of them connected with Gaza, in the extreme southwest. One took a northeasterly course from Gaza, passing through Hebron and Bethlehem to Jerusalem, thence by way of Bethany and Jericho, across the Jordan and up the eastern plateau to Damascus. From this a road branched off in the vicinity of Decapolis, crossed the Jordan south of the Sea of Galilee, and led to Capernaum. It was this road about the eastern side of Jordan that the Jews travelled from Jerusalem to Capernaum, in order to avoid going through despised Samaria. The second road from Gaza passed directly north along the coast through Jamnia, Joppa, Caesarea and Ptolemais to Tyre. This was the principal Maritime Plain highway. Two branches of this road led from Lydda to Jerusalem, one by way of Beth-horon, and the other by Emmaus. The third road of importance was the direct route from Jerusalem to Capernaum, passing up the ridge of

the central mountain range, by way of Shechem—the road which Jesus was traveling when he won the Samaritan woman. The greatest of all Palestinian highways was *Via Maria*, the Way of the Sea. Doubtless Jesus played by its side as a boy. It came from Damascus, crossed the Jordan between the Sea of Galilee and Merom, passed through Capernaum and Nazareth into the Plain of Esdraelon, and skirted the Galilean hills to Ptolemais. It was the most extensively used route from Damascus to the sea. It was paved by the Romans, and a toll charged of those who traveled over it. At one of these toll stations Matthew was sitting when Jesus called him to discipleship. Then there were of course a large number of subordinate roads branching off from these principal highways and connecting with every section of Palestine, passable for those who were walking or riding, but in most instances unsuited to vehicles.

Physical Divisions.

The topography of Palestine is defined by four distinct physical features. They are the Mediterranean coast, the Lebanon Mountains with their southern extension, the Jordan valley, and the Antilebanon mountains with their southern extension.

The coast of Palestine is embarassingly regular. The only bay of any size in its entire length is the Bay of Acre, and it is but slightly sheltered from the sea. South of Carmel the line of the coast is practically straight, offering no place for a natural harbor. But north of Carmel are a number of small projections of land, which in ancient times provided harbors sufficient for the small boats then used, and thus furnished the natural equipment for the maritime activities of the Phoenicians.

The Lebanon and Antilebanon Mountains are divisions of a long range which branches off from the Caucasus Mountains. The ridge of the Lebanon extends clear down to the Sinaitic peninsula, with two breaks, one at the plain of Esdraelon and the other at the Wilderness of Paran. The Antilebanons dip abruptly from Mt. Hermon to the Plain of Bashan, then rise to the table-land of Gilead and Moab, whence the ridge slopes gradually away to a few scattering hills in the southwestern corner of the Arabian desert.

Between the Lebanon and Antilebanon Mountains lies the great depression which forms the Jordan Valley. It begins where the great mountain ridge divides far north of Palestine, descends to the Dead Sea, beyond which it rises approximately 1,600 feet, to 300 feet above sea-level, and then descends gradually into the Gulf of Akabah.

These larger physical features are divided by other natural formations into smaller sections. The Lebanon ridge in its southern course departs increasingly from the sea, leaving the Maritime Plain. It is broken in the center of Palestine by the Plain of Esdraelon, which forms a natural feature in itself, as well as dividing the Lebanon ridge into the Central Highlands and the Northern Highlands. The Jordan Valley forms a single feature, and beyond it lies the Eastern Plateau. Thus physical Palestine is divided into six natural features.

(1) *The Maritime Plain.* This is formed by the widening of the coast from the point where Mt. Carmel juts against the sea. The hills thrust themselves seaward again just south of Joppa, and divide this plain into two parts. The northern part is the famous Plain of Sharon, and the southern the Philistian Plain. Sharon is an average of ten miles in width and about forty-four miles long. The average width of the Plain of Philistia is twelve and a half miles, and it is nearly one hundred miles in length. Upon this fertile plain lived the Philistine tribes, the age-long enemies of Israel.

(2) *The Central Highlands.* At their northermost point the Central Highlands rise to the summit of Mt. Carmel, which is 1,742 feet above sea-level at its highest point. Mt. Carmel is not a peak, but a long, narrow ridge, which lifts itself abruptly from the coast on the west, and on the east gradually slopes away to the Plain of Dothan. At the northeastern projection of the Central Highlands stands Mt. Gilboa, a tall peak rising to 1,698 feet above sea-level. The Plain of Dothan is a huge basin, located in the northern end of the Central Highlands, at an elevation of nearly one thousand feet above sea-level. On its northwest rises the lower slopes of Carmel, on the northeast those of Gilboa, and on the south those of Ebal.

The next interruption of the central range lies ten miles south of the Plain of Dothan. It is the Valley of Shechem, with Mt. Ebal towering 3,076 feet on one side, and Mt.

Gerizim (site of the Samaritan temple) 2,850 feet on the other. South of Gerizim the ridge is more regular, rising to fewer abrupt peaks. Its elevation reaches a great height at two other points, the first at Jerusalem, where it is2 ,593 feet, and the next, still higher, at Hebron, where it is about 350 feet above sea-level—the highest point in the Central Highlands. The southern portion of the Central Highlands shelves off to the west into a series of foothills, known as the Shephelah, and on the east falls away in rugged descent to the Dead Sea.

(3) *The Plain of Esdraelon.* The Lebanon range is interrupted in southern Galilee by a wide depression, the central and most important part of which is the Plain of Esdraelon, about nine miles in width. At its northwestern end the Plain of Esdraelon is closed in to a narrow valley by a projection of the Galiean hills. From this valley the Plain of Acre opens out to the sea, and extends an arm northward for about forty miles. This northward extension forms a narrow coastal plain, only a few miles in width, which is sometimes called the Plain of Phoenicia. On the eastern side Esdraelon is shut in by Mt. Gilboa and Little Hermon, with the Valley of Jezreel between them, opening into the Jordan Valley. By some the entire depression, from the Plain of Acre to the Jordan, is called the Valley of Jezreel.

(4) *The Northern Highlands.* This division is represented in the Lebanon and Antilebanon Mountains and the Mountains of Galilee. The Gallilean mountains are really foothills of the Lebanon range. The highest point in the Lebanon is far up in Syria, where they rise to more than ten thousand feet. The conspicuous feature of the Antilebanons is Mt. Hermon with its three peaks, the highest rising to 9200 feet above the sea-level. Because of the opposite extremes in temperature between the altitude of Hermon and low valleys about it, much moisture is condensed from the atmosphere, giving rise to "the dews of Hermon". The mountains in upper Galilee rise to a height of 4000 feet, but they shelve away in lower Galilee to 1000 feet and under.

(5) *The Jordan Valley.* This is the depression between the southern extension of the Lebanon and Antilebanon Mountains, through which courses the Jordan river. It is quite

irregular in width, ranging from a narrow gorge between Lake Huleh and the Sea of Galilee to fourteen miles in width at Jericho.

The head waters of the Jordan river consist of four large tributaries and a number of small ones, springing from fountains at the foot of Mt. Hermon. From near its source the stream flows through a dense swamp, filled with luxuriant vegetation. At the lower end of this swamp it widens into Lake Huleh (the ancient Waters of Merom), whence it dashes through a deep gorge, down a sharp descent, falling 680 feet in nine miles, then flows quietly into the Sea of Galilee.

The Sea of Galilee is thirteen miles long by eight wide (at its widest part) and is 682 feet below sea-level. On the north is a delta, formed by the deposits of the Jordan, and a little north of midway its western edge is a small coastal plain, the Plain of Gennesaret, some eight miles in length by four miles in width. At its southern end is the continuation of the Jordan Valley, which is four miles wide at this point. Elsewhere the lake is hedged in by the steep sides of over-hanging hills.

From the Sea of Galilee the Jordan river moves rapidly on its course to the Dead Sea, falling 610 feet in the sixty-five miles between the two seas. It ranges in width from ninety to a hundred feet, and is three to twelve feet deep. The current is zig-zag and rapid, and the waters muddy.

The Jordan empties into the Dead Sea, which is about 1,300 feet below sea-level at the surface and about as many feet in depth. It is forty-six miles long and ten miles wide. Its banks on the east, south and west consist of the sides of the mountains which hedge it in. From the eastern side is projected a boot-shaped promontory some fifty feet in height, and bordered by a sand-bar. Since it has no outlet, the waters of the Dead Sea are salty.

(6) *The Eastern Plateau.* The Antilebanon range does not descend into foothills and lower mountain ranges, as do the Lebanons, but slopes down into a rugged plateau, cut into three fairly distinct divisions by rivers which have plowed through its surface. The first is the Plain of Bashan, with the river Yarmuk at its southern border. Next comes Mt. Gilead, cut in twain by the Jabbok river. Mt. Gilead is about 2,000

feet in elevation at the highest point, and is exceedingly fertile and fruitful. To the east of the Dead Sea are the Plains of Moab, so frequently mentioned in the Old Testament.

Thus lies before us the natural features of that most renowned plot of land on all the earth. From the coastal plains of Philistia, Sharon and Acre, it rises to the crest of a mountain ridge, cut through by Esdraelon and the Vale of Shechem, then dips to the deep rift of the Jordan Valley, rolls upward on the eastern side to the rugged table-lands of Bashan, Gilead and Moab, and slopes away to the arid stretches of the Arabian desert.

Political Divisions.

(1) *Galilee.* After Joshua's victorious campaign in the north, in the extreme northern part of Canaan he settled the tribe of Naphtali (cf. Joshua 20:7). But Naphtali failed to subdue or expel the native Gentiles (cf. Judges 1:33). Hence this region became known as "the district of the Gentiles." The Hebrew word for district is *galilah,* whence the name arose, first "*galilah* of the Gentiles," then just "Galilah" as a proper name, which became *Galilaia* in Greek and Galilee in English. At first the name applied only to the possessions of Naphthali, now upper Galilee, but was later extended to designate the possessions of Zebulun and Issachar as well, reaching to the southern border of Esdraelon. This territory was always disputed ground betweeen the Israelites and their heathen enemies. During the Restoration there were but few Jews who settled in Galilee. It remained for one of the Asmonean princes, John Hyrcanus (135-105 B. C.), to really establish the control of the Jews in this section of their promised land. In the time of our Savior it was strictly a Jewish country, but still inhabited by more Gentiles than Judea.

(2) *Samaria.* After the fall of the Northern Kingdom, in accordance with the established custom of the Assyrian conquerors, the vanquished peoples were deported, and in their place the country was colonized with Gentile tribes. The colonists mingled with the remnant of the Israelites left behind, the number of whom was doubtless considerable, and the customs of the Hebrews were corrupted by heathen influence, and quite likely extensive intermarriage took place between the

races. Hence at the time of the Restoration these apostate Israelites of Samaria and their hybrid relatives were regarded as unworthy to take part in the reconstruction of the holy nation of Jehovah. This enmity between the races still persisted in the time of Jesus and the apostles. The great majority of the Samaritans were descendants of Abraham, and had a religion quite similar to that of the Jews. We have noted above that they had for many years their own temple on Mt. Gerizim.

(3) *Judea.* This was always the heart of the Israelitish nation. It was the first territory conquered by Joshua, was the scene of the chief events of Hebrew history, contained the site of the Holy City Jerusalem, and was the center of the Restoration. Thus it became pre-eminently the country of the Jews, and the center from which radiated the dominant Jewish influence. In New Testament times Jerusalem was the stronghold of Judaism. The name Judea is a corruption of Judah, and was applied because the tribe of that name was the chief possessor of that region.

(4) *Perea.* We now pass to the eastern side of Jordan. And in and before New Testament times this meant more than simply crossing a little stream a few feet in width. It meant entering a different circle of life and history. Israel never had a firm hold, either religiously or politically, in the trans-Jordanic regions. It was always exposed to Gentile inroads, and was consequently never as thoroughly Jewish as Judea. It was brought under Jewish control by the Asmoneans, and had a predominantly Jewish population in the first century of our era. It thus afforded a passage over relatively Jewish territory which the Jews might use and avoid passing through despised Samaria.

(5) *Northeast Palestine.* We do not have a name any more definite than this which we may apply to this region. It is that portion of Palestine which lies east of the Sea of Galilee and north of Perea. It includes several small districts of indeterminate limits. These are Gaulinitis, Ituraea, Suranitis, Trachonitis, and Batonea. The region of Decapolis, the "ten cities," embraces the southern portion of the same territory, but extends also into Perea and Galilee. Decapolis was a sort of municipal league, consisting originally of ten Greek cities

(hence the name, Decapolis: ten cities) leagued together in a sort of confederacy, maintaining their pagan character and customs, and granted special protection by the Roman government. In the new period there were more than ten of these cities. They were of course despised by the Jews as lawless intruders. The exact name and location of the original ten cities has never been ascertained, but a probably correct list gives Damascus, Philadelphia, Raphana, Scythopolis, Gadara, Hippos, Dion, Pella, Gerasa, Canatha.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF JUDAISM

When one takes his stand in the midst of the New Testament world and contemplates his surroundings, the first and most prominent object to meet his attention is the Jew. The most imperative requisite to New Testament interpretation is to become thoroughly acquainted with this Jew. The investigation of his character and environment soon reveals that he is the product of more than a single generation. He presents a combination of elements contributed by many centuries of the past. In fact, all the history of Israel is represented in him. But especially is he affected by the five centuries immediately preceding the age in which he lives. The initial task in the study of the New Testament world is to investigate this period of history and gain a knowledge of the origin and nature of the Jew.

We do not approach this history for the sake of merely becoming acquainted with the course of events. That is, it is not a study of history for history's sake. Our aim is to find the relation of these five centuries to the Jew we meet the moment we open our New Testament. It is impossible to apprehend in an adequate way the phenomena of first century Jewish life without knowing their historical origin. What and whence was Judaism? Who were the Samaritans and why their hatred of the Jews? When and how arose the Greek element in Palestinian life? How did the sects of the Pharisees and Sadducees arise, and what developments caused the intense animosity between them? Why was Palestine under Roman control, and why the varying attitude of the Jews toward that control? These are the chief questions for which an answer is to be sought in a review of Jewish history.

After the first century of the Christian era the history of Judaism ceases to have any direct bearing upon New Testament interpretation. Up to that point the history of Judaism readily divides itself into four periods: the Persian period, the Greek period, the Maccabean period, and the Roman period. This analysis is based on the four political powers which were

successively dominant over Palestine between the sixth century B. C. and the first century A. D.

I. The Persian Period (537 to 332 B. C.)

After the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, Palestine became a part of the Medo-Persian empire. Thus when the Jews under the decree of Cyrus returned to Palestine they composed a Persian Province. The Persian period properly begins with the first return from the exile, and extends over a period of more than two hundred years, from 537 to 332 B. C. At least fifty thousand people returned from Babylonia under the generous patronage of Cyrus and his successors, and rebuilt Jerusalem and the Temple. They returned in three groups. The first came under Zerubbabel, a prince of the house of David, and Joshua the high priest, in 537 B. C. Their number, according to the most reliable sources, was 42,360. A second group came with Ezra in 458 B. C., and probably a third when Nehemiah returned in 444. Besides these we might well suppose that others migrated thither from time to time, but not in connection with an event which caused them to receive mention in the chronicles of the time. The great majority of those who returned were of the tribes of Judah and Levi, but there were also representatives from the other tribes.

Judea seems at first to have been a distinct province, controlled by a governor appointed directly by the Persian monarch. With two of these we are definitely acquainted, Zerubbabel and Nehemiah. Between their administrations the land was probably ruled by high priests, descendants of Joshua, the high priest under Zerubbabel. The Jews were very loyal to the Persian kings, who were in turn very considerate and benevolent in their dealings with the Jews—with just a few exceptions. In general the period was one of peace and prosperity. It was characterized by four important developments.

(1) *The Restoration of National Integrity.*

This began with the rekindling of hope and the revival of patriotic devotion and enthusiasm in the returning exiles. It was made permanent in the rebuilding of the Temple and the re-establishment of the worship of Jehovah. As soon as the program of reconstruction was inaugurated the Samaritans—nearest neighbors of the Jews and their successors in Palestine

after the Captivity—proposed to join with them and become members of the restored nation. Being rejected and repulsed by the Jews they were filled with hatred and jealousy, and offered very hurtful and embarrassing opposition. But in spite of the difficulties the city and Temple were finally completed, and the latter dedicated amid great rejoicing.

The Establishment of Judaism.

It is not until this period of history that the Jew and Judaism appear. Up to this time we have the appellative terms Hebrew and Israelite, but henceforth the children of Abraham are to be known as Jews. Josephus says, "That is the name they are called by from the day they came up from Babylon" (*Antq.* 11:5). The name is a modification of Judah, and became applied because the remnant of the restoration consisted chiefly of representatives from that tribe. But the difference from the ancient Hebrew race was not merely in name. Judaism was a thing of considerably different character from the Israel of the Old Testament. The people still proudly counted themselves the chosen Israel of God, and based their doctrines and institutions upon the Law and life of ancient Israel, but the Law held a far larger place in their thought and practice, and their mission as the peculiar people of Jehovah was a matter of far deeper concern to them than it ever was to their Hebrew ancestors.

The development of Judaism found its greatest formative force in Ezra the scribe, who might justly be termed its founder. Ezra was a man of deep and earnest piety, of passionate devotion to the traditions and mission of Israel, and, above all, a profound student and zealous advocate of the Law. His characteristics came to be the distinguishing traits of Judaism. He set the mould and fixed the principles which should determine the form and conduct of standard Judaism for many centuries to come.

Ezra's great stress upon the observance of the Law called for the greatest possible knowledge of it on the part of the people. For their instruction, and the study and promotion of the Law in general, there arose a class in Judaism known as scribes or rabbis. These scribes were not priests, but were laymen who gave their lives to learning the Law and teaching it

to others. As logical corollaries of this chief function they gave themselves to defending and preserving the traditions of Israel, and deducing from the Law more detailed regulations for the direction of personal conduct. These traditions and regulations were transmitted in oral form, and were regarded as an authoritative interpretation of the Law, styled by subsequent generations as the "hedge about the Law." This oral tradition extended to the most trivial matters, and became absurdly and unbearably rigid. It was to this that Jesus referred when he rebuked the Pharisees as those who "bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders" (Mt. 23:4).

It should be carefully pointed out, however, that the ideal of Ezra was not to make the religion of Israel a matter of lifeless ritual formality, but to safeguard it from the encroachments of heathen influence, from which it had so greatly suffered in the past. The extremes of scribism in subsequent generations were not the promotion but the perversion of the purpose of its great founder.

The scribes had exceedingly fruitful soil in which to sow the seeds of legalism. The Captivity had taught the people a new regard for the Law, and those national and religious ideals so nobly advocated by the prophets. In the sufferings and religious privations through which they had been forced to pass while in exile in the midst of heathenism, much of the dross had been purged out of the race. Ewald describes this fact in vivid and striking language. "The ruinous errors and perversities of earlier centuries were over now; and all the storm was past of that wild passion into which even the essentially noble efforts of Israel had so often degenerated in the time of the nation's independent life. Only the Immortal and Eternal in Israel could maintain itself, and the sole method by which it was enabled to hold out against the trials of the time was by severing itself more sternly than ever from all that was foreign to it, and returning more quietly and firmly upon itself." He describes the transformation as a "twofold movement, leading on the one hand decidedly away from every form of heathenism, and, on the other hand, approaching with such earnestness and determination the ancient God of Israel!" (*History of Israel*, vol. v., pp. 19, 25). All external support

and protection had been lost; the faith of Israel must maintain itself by its own intrinsic forces. Out of this ordeal there came the faithful remnant seen in prophetic vision, possessed of a deathless loyalty to the traditions and hopes of Israel. It was only those who were loyal to the traditions of Israel and enthusiastic for the observance of the Law who returned from the Exile. It was a purgated and patriotic remnant of ancient Israel who took up again the broken threads of their nation's history, and, under the name Jew, resumed the holy enterprise of perpetuating the religion of Jehovah. The sufferings of the faithful are vividly portrayed in Psalm 137, while the fruitage of the ordeal may be seen in Psalm 119. The selfish and indifferent members of the race remained where they were. Josephus tells us: "yet did many of them stay at Babylon, as not willing to leave their possessions" (*Antq.* 11:1). However, there were many Jews who remained in Babylon who were still loyal to Jehovah and the traditions of Israel, as is evidenced in the cases of Daniel and Esther. Many of the more wealthy contributed liberally of their means to the program of rehabilitation. Nevertheless, we may safely conclude that it was the cream of Jewish patriotism and piety which repeopled the land of Judah.

In its bearing upon New Testament interpretation this was by far the most significant development of the period. The Judaism thus established furnished the stage of action for the ministry of Jesus. It found its extreme development in the Pharisees, and was characterized by extreme legalism and national exclusiveness. The nobler and less rigid development of the race was represented in those who accepted the Messianic ministry of Jesus and became His disciples.

(3) *The Cessation of Prophecy.*

The advent of scribism brought the death of prophecy. This was inevitable. Prophecy is essentially a creative process, and scribism was deliberately hostile to originality. Its very existence depended upon a design to repress innovation: to "build a hedge about the Law." Such a policy created an atmosphere which was obviously unfavorable to the exercise of the prophetic function, and in consequence the voice of prophecy was hushed in Israel from Malachi (c. 440 B. C.)

to John the Baptist. The exigencies of the Restoration called forth the burning messages of Haggai and Zechariah, and the corrupt practices of the high priest and his associates, accompanied by a decline of respect for the Law and the neglect of Temple worship, evoked the prophetic ministry of Malachi, the last of that long line of Old Testament prophets who, as the special spokesmen of Jehovah, courageously denounced the backslidings of Israel and enunciated the great principles of that redemption which they dimly glimpsed as the fruition of the Messianic hope of their nation. With Malachi the curtain of prophecy falls.

The Elevation of the Highpriesthood.

The civil and religious powers ever had difficulty in securing harmonious adjustment in the national life of Israel. This was especially true after the Restoration. Zerubbabel, the last prince of Judah, was not allowed to serve to the close of his life as governor of Judea. Because of friction and suspicion he was forced to retire, and the highpriest assumed supreme direction of affairs. How long he continued in power is not certain. When Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in B. C. 444 he secured appointment from Artaxerxes as governor, and obtained full control of affairs seemingly without opposition from the highpriest. But after he retired the highpriesthood again became pre-eminent. Judea was made a part of the satrapy of Coelesyria, and subject to its ruler. The local administration of affairs was placed in the hands of the highpriest, who was responsible to the Persian satrap.

Thus the highpriesthood was raised to a place of honor and influence which made it the prize of unholy ambition and the object of disgraceful contentions. Probably the first to obtain the honor after the time of Nehemiah was Eliashib. His term of administration was relatively uneventful. His sucessor was Joiada (or Jehoiada), who had two sons, Jonathan and Joshua. The latter won favor with the Persian general Bagoses, and through him secured a promise of appointment to the highpriesthood. But when Joiada died, Jonathan, according to his right as the eldest, succeeded to the office. This of course aroused the intense jealously of his brother. Emboldened by the partiality of the Persian official, Joshua chal-

lenged his brother's claim to the highpriesthood. The two quarrelled in the Temple, and Joshua was slain. As a measure of revenge for the death of his friend Bagoses polluted the Temple by entering it in person, and exacted a heavy fine.

The next highpriest was Jaddua, son of Jonathan. It was he who marched forth in the regal splendor of his pontifical attire and so completely captivated the approaching conqueror Alexander. His brother (uncle?) Manasseh committed a gross offence against the nation and the Law by marrying a Samaritan princess, daughter of Sanballat. He was ordered to put away his unlawful wife, and because he declined to comply with the demand was banished. With several others who had been rebuked for a like offence he took refuge in Samaria and built a rival temple on Mt. Gerizim. From this time on the Samaritans claimed that the Gerizim temple was the real sanctuary of Jehovah. It was to the site of this temple that the Samaritan woman pointed when she said to Jesus, "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain, and ye say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship" (John 4:20). This fact also accounts for the hostile attitude manifested by Samaritans toward Jews who were going to Jerusalem (cf. Lk. 9:53).

II. The Greek Period (332 to 165 B. C.)

This period begins with the capture of Jerusalem by Alexander the Great and closes with the gaining of independence by the Jews in the Maccabean revolt. It presents the darkest era in the history of Israel from the occupation of Canaan to the dstruction of Jerusalem. The Exile had less of hope, but at the same time less of suffering. This period may be divided into three eras: Macedonian Supremacy, Egyptian Supremacy, and Syrian Supremacy.

Macedonian Supremacy (332 to 320 B. C.)

After his two brilliant victories at Granicus (334) and Issus (333) the youthful conqueror Alexander believed with good reason that Asia lay prostrate at his feet. His next move after the battle of Issus was to lay seige to the strongly fortified city of Tyre. While in the process of this siege Alexander sent a messenger to Jerusalem, demanding submission and aid of the highpriest. But the highpriest refused to

comply, announcing his purpose to remain faithful to his oath of allegiance to the Persian empire. Determined to avenge this affront, Alexander, after he had captured Tyre and Gaza, marched upon Jerusalem. His approach caused the utmost consternation among the Jews. Jewish tradition, probably containing legendary elements, reports that after offering sacrifices and many prayers, Jaddua the highpriest, opened the gates of the city and marched forth in the splendor of his priestly attire to meet the approaching conqueror. The impressive sight of the Jewish highpriest and his retinue walking in solemn majesty toward him proved too much for the religious superstition of the Macedonian. He fell in homage before Jaddua, acknowledged Jaddua's God as his own, entered the city without injury to person or property of the Jews and bestowed peace and protection upon the nation with many extraordinary privileges and favors. The Jews were allowed full freedom in the administration of their civil affairs, and pursued the practice of their religion without interference.

From Jerusalem Alexander marched on to Egypt, which he took without resistance. While there he established on the Mediterranean coast near a mouth of the Nile the city of Alexandria. To this new city, named for him after his death, he transferred a large colony of Jews, giving them the best location in the city. This Jewish settlement grew in numbers and influence until they became a recognized factor in the life of the city. They had their own governing official—called *ethnarch*—and pursued their accustomed modes of life and worship with but little interference. More Jews were induced to settle in other parts of Egypt, and by the time of Philo their number had reached approximately a million, about 300,000 being in Alexandria. Two of the five sections of the city were occupied by Jews. This colony in Alexandria became one of the most important centers of Jewish life, and widely affected the world in which the New Testament first functioned.

Egyptian Supremacy (320 to 198 B. C.)

After the death of Alexander his empire passed into the hands of Philip of Aridaeus, who was utterly incompetent, and unequal to the task of ruling the world. Conflict and rebellion sprang up on every hand, the final result being the division

of the vast empire among several of his lieutenants. Of the resultant kingdoms only two, Syria and Egypt, had any direct connection with the history of Judaism. Syria fell into the hands of Seleucus Nicator, whose successors were known as the Seleucidae. Egypt was obtained by Ptolemy Soter, whose successors were called Ptolemies.

According to geographical lines, Palestine fell to the kingdom of Syria, but before the organization of that kingdom could be completed under Seleucus, Ptolemy had besieged and captured Jerusalem. He entered the city on a sabbath day, when the Jews would offer no resistance. With varying fortunes Palestine was under the control of the Ptolemies for 122 years. In the main the country fared well, save as it suffered from the almost perpetual warfare between the Syrian and Egyptian kings. In their treatment of the Jews the Ptolemies continued the policy of generosity instituted by Alexander. They encouraged further migration into Egypt, and granted many privileges. Tribute had to be paid regularly to the Egyptian rulers, but the actual government of the realm remained in the hands of the highpriest.

It was not, however, a fruitful age for the internal life of Judaism. Spiritual and intellectual inertia pervaded the nation. Only two names worthy of special mention appear in this period. One is Simon, highpriest from 300 to 270, and known as "the Just." He was a great and beneficent ruler, exhibited wisdom in word and deed, and made an enduring and helpful impression on the life of his people. At the opposite extreme from Simon stands Joseph the son of Tobias. He was a crafty and ambitious profligate, who by shrewd diplomacy secured the favor of the Egyptian court and was made custodian of tribute, which gave him virtual control of Palestine. He brought peace and prosperity to Judea, but with them their all too frequent concomitants, luxury and vice. The corrupt indulgences into which he led the nation ill prepared it for the distress which was to follow.

Under Ptolemy Philadelphus, the son and successor of Soter, the Greek translation of the Jewish scriptures known as the Septuagint was made, with the encouragement and aid of the Jewish king. He looked with favor upon the Jews, and treated them with marked tolerance. A like policy was em-

ployed by his successor Euergetes (Ptolemy III.), save at one time when the highpriest Onias II. came near provoking trouble by refusing to send the tribute money to the Egyptian court. In this crisis the nation was saved by the wit and affability of Joseph the son of Tobias. The darkest spot on the record of the dealings of the Ptolemies with the Jews was an attempt at a wholesale massacre of the Jews of Alexandria by Ptolemy Philopator, successor to Euergetes. In a conflict with the Syrian king Antiochus ("the Great") he won a brilliant victory at Raphia, and returned exulting to Jerusalem, where he offered gifts and sacrifices in the Temple. In a fit of morbid curiosity he sought to enter the Holy of Holies, but was in some way summarily ejected, probably by a panic of his own superstitious fear. Deeply chagrined he returned in a rage to Egypt, and wreaked his vengeance on the Jews of that country by depriving them of many political liberties and attempting to slaughter a great number of them. His effort was unsuccessful. His son Ptolemy Epiphanes was the fifth and last of the Ptolemies to rule over the Jews of Palestine. He was five years old when he fell heir to the throne.

Syrian Supremacy (198 to 165 B. C.)

After his disastrous defeat at Raphia, Antiochus the Great desisted from further operations against the Egyptians for nearly twenty years. But all this time he was gathering strength for a fatal onslaught. When Philopator died and left his domains to his five-year-old son, Anticohus realized that his time had come to strike. Marshalling his forces, he marched upon the Asiatic possessions of the Egyptian kingdom. Palestine became the main battle-ground of the contending parties, and was wrested back and forth, as first one and then the other gained an advantage. For several years the contest remained undecided, until in B. C. 198 Antiochus defeated Scopas the Egyptian general at the decisive battle of Mount Panium. After this battle Palestine passed into the control of the Seleucidae, where it remained for the next thirty years.

During the three decades of Syrian domination the Jews suffered more than they had in all the 122 years in which they were under the control of the Ptolemies. Antiochus the Great respected their customs and courted their sympathy, but his

successors treated them with shameless cruelty. This period represents the midnight of interbiblical history. Insult and persecution were inflicted upon the Jews in every conceivable way. Seleucus IV., the son and successor of Antiochus the Great, sought through one of his generals to rob the Temple of certain treasures which had been deposited there for safe-keeping, and the sanctuary of Jehovah only escaped by a special interposition of protective providence. But the apex of tyranny and persecution was reached by the next incumbent of the Syrian throne, Antiochus Epiphanes. Three causes contributed to this period of distress.

(1) *The Disintegrating Effects of Hellenistic Influence.* The Jews had now been under Greek dominion for nearly two and a half centuries. The ambition of Alexander had been to bring the entire world under the sway of Hellenistic culture. To this end he set in motion tendencies which operated upon Jewish life for centuries. This long continued contact with Grecian life and customs could not fail to have its effect. Thousands of Jews had gone from Palestine into Alexandria, which was rapidly becoming the world-center of Greek life and thought—a station which it held in New Testament times. These Alexandrian Jews often revisited the home-land, and their influence inevitably reacted upon the life in Judea. There were also Jews from other parts of the Graeco-Oriental world returning to the home-land, and bringing their Greek culture with them (cf. Gilbert: *Greek Thought in the N. T.*, page 35). The use of the Greek language became wide-spread in Palestine as a result of the immigration of so many Greek speaking peoples, not from Alexandria alone, but from all portions of the Greek domains. Several almost exclusively Greek cities were established on Palestinian soil. The attractiveness of Greek culture and practices won many of the Jews away from their allegiance to the traditions of Israel. Many Jewish children were given Greek or Greek-sounding names.

An aggressive Hellenizing propaganda was first inaugurated by Joseph the son of Tobias, in the era of corruption mentioned above. As a result of this movement some even went so far as to renounce their native religion for that of the Greeks. When Antiochus Epiphanes came to the throne he adopted a policy of compulsory Hellenization. Under his

direction a Greek amphitheatre was erected at Jerusalem, and an academy established for instruction in Greek literature and philosophy. Judean youths were trained for participation in the Greek games, and Jewish leaders applied for admission as enrolled citizens of the Syrian kingdom. A royal edict was issued requiring the Jews to worship the Hellenic gods; the Temple was formally dedicated to Zeus, the supreme god of Olympus; and swine's flesh was sacrificed on the altars of the Temple. Such a situation could only be excruciatingly repulsive to the devout.

(2) *Internal Disloyalty and Strife.* There were many Jews who preferred the Syrian regime. They welcomed every opportunity to advance the interests of the Syrian king. Of such character was Joshua, or Jason (his Greek name), who secured by bribe the deposition of his brother Onias from the highpriesthood and seized the office for himself. He devoted himself with enthusiasm to the Hellenizing policy of Antiochus and to the promotion of Greek culture and amusements. But he was not permitted to remain long in undisputed possession of his ill-got prize. Menelaus, a far more unscrupulous Hellenist, by bribing Antiochus supplanted Jason. At a seemingly opportune moment the latter raised a force and sought to regain his place, but was prevented by the unexpected interference of Antiochus. Menelaus remained in possession of the pontifical robes, and by lying representations to the king increased the oppression of the Jews.

(3) *The Extreme Cruelty of Antiochus.* This capricious and heartless ruler imposed upon the Jews an unbearable burden of taxation, and drenched Jerusalem in blood. In punishing the revolt of Jason he slew 40,000 of the inhabitants of the city, and despoiled the Temple. Two years later, enraged because the Roman Senate had ordered him to raise a siege which he was conducting against Alexandria, he again attacked Jerusalem, slew the unresisting inhabitants by the thousands, made slaves of women and children, and left the city in a tragic state of grief and desolation. At the instigation of Menelaus, the treacherous highpriest, he published a decree commanding all the Jews to offer sacrifice to the gods of the Greeks. A Syrian officer was placed in charge of Judea with instructions to execute the royal edict without mercy. Jews perished in

great numbers rather than surrender their faith and violate their laws and traditional practices. Deeds of touching heroism are recounted by Jewish historians. A certain aged scribe named Eleazar was urged to provide himself with some kind of lawful meat that he might eat it when commanded to take swine's flesh, and thus deceive the officers, but recoiling from the hypocrisy of the deed he chose death as the preferable course. Seven brothers were executed consecutively with indescribable tortures, the death of each being witnessed by those remaining, with their mother, and not one of them hesitated to meet his fate. All were exhorted by the mother to die courageously for the faith of their fathers, and in the end she too was executed. (Cf. II Mac. 6:18-7:42.) With merciless rigor the persecution raged, but the Jews bore it with unresisting fortitude, choosing "rather to die, that they might not be defiled with meats, and that they might not profane the holy covenant; so then they died" (I Mac. 1:63).

It seemed that the last hope of the Jews had sunk within the gloom of the tyrant's oppression, that the glory of Israel had forever waned, and the unending night had settled over the hapless nation. But just at this dread crisis a constellation of morning stars appeared upon the national horizon, heralding the dawn of a better day. The Maccabean heroes entered the arena, and by a few deft and mighty strokes changed the whole face of Jewish history. It is the romance of this marvelous achievement which we are next to consider.

III. The Maccabean Period (165 to 63 B. C.)

As the end of Syrian domination represents the midnight of interbiblical history, so the period of the Maccabees may be described as the noonday. Though this may be confusing the figure, it is faithfully representing the facts. The sons of Israel never saw a more splendid epoch than was this period of their history, and the world never saw a grander group of heroes than were the sons of Mattathias. The story of their achievements is one of the most fascinating bits of human history. The period may be divided into two eras, the Maccabean leadership and the Asmonean dynasty.

The Maccabean Leadership (165 to 135 B. C.)

The redemption of Israel in this dark crisis presented itself in the family of Mattathias. This noble sire, of priestly line-

age, with his five stalwart sons, threw himself into the breach, and saved the nation and religion of Israel from total extermination. As has so often been the case in human history, the tragedy of tyranny combined with the drama of heroism and presented one of the most inspiring spectacles of sacrificial devotion which human annals afford. Mattathias with his five sons, Johanan, Simon, Judas, Eleaza, and Jonathan, lived in the little town of Modein in northwestern Judea, whither they had fled from Jerusalem to escape the terrors of persecution. After the edict of Antiochus that the Jews must cease to worship Jehovah and worship the Greek gods instead, the Syrian officers went through Judea enforcing the edict upon the penalty of death. When they came to Modein, Mattathias, then a man of extreme old-age, refused to comply with their demands. While they were debating the question an apostate Jew stepped forward to execute the command of the Syrian officer; but before he could carry out his faithless designs the aged Mattathias struck the foul traitor to the earth. With the aid of his sons and fellow-townsmen he then turned upon the royal commissioner and his attendants and slew them.

The hand of patriotic defense had at last been raised in deadly protest against the oppression of heartless tyranny. Prostrate, bleeding Judaism took heart again, and loyal Jews on every hand raised the thrilling slogan: "To the hills, to the hills, for Jehovah and Judah!" Taking refuge in the mountains, the faithful Mattathias gathered a company of followers and prepared to make a final desperate stand in defense of his religion and race. But it was not for the aged priest to witness the triumph of Judah's hope. He soon succumbed to the hardship and strain of military life, and left the leadership of the faithful in the hands of Judas, his third and noblest son.

(1) *Judas Maccabeaus.* It would be difficult to imagine a more discouraging prospect than that which Judas faced when he became leader of the patriots of Judea. Already more than a thousand faithful Jews had been mercilessly slain, declining to offer resistance on the sabbath. Those who rallied to his standard were wholly untrained in the art of war, and thoroughly intimidated by the cruelty of the Syrians. Humanly speaking, the two alternatives before him were to

submit to the wrath of his rulers and die a martyr's death, or adopt a foolhardy course of resistance and die a warrior's death. Judas chose the latter.

The new leader first addressed himself to the task of organization. Gathering together a few thousand of his countrymen, he marshalled and equipped them as best he could. With this rather unpromising force he launched his campaign of national defense. His first blow for liberty was struck at Apollonius the governor of Samaria. In this battle he signally defeated a force many times the size of his own, and slew the leader. Judas himself secured the sword of Apollonius, and, having carried it through every subsequent battle, died with it in his hand, gory with the blood of his persecutors. Enraged at this insult to Syrian supremacy, Seron, the deputy-governor of Coelesyria, marched a large army against the Jewish leader, determined to avenge the affront. At Beth-horon Judas again met the tremendous odds against him, and drove the Syrian forces from the field in total defeat.

The news of these two disasters stirred the rage of Antiochus to the point of ferocity, but he was unable to conduct a campaign of subjugation in person because financial problems and rebellions in other places were requiring his attention, so he instructed Lysias, the strongest and most eminent of his generals, to march a vast army against the rebel leader and utterly exterminate the Jewish race. Gathering a force of infantry and cavalry nearly 50,000 strong, Lysias ordered three of his generals to march against Judas with his band of a few thousand ill-prepared patriots. So sure of victory were the invaders that they brought slave-traders with them to buy the Hebrew prisoners whom they expected to capture. Judas made an unexpected midnight attack upon the camp of the Syrians, and put to flight in utter panic their entire force, save six thousand who had been dispatched to surprise the Judean army in their mountain retreat. Awaiting in concealment the return of this division, Judas and his band routed them too, almost without striking a blow. The next year Lysias himself assumed command of an army of some 65,000 and invaded Judea. With another mighty blow of combined religious fervor, patriotism and genius Judas sent the Syrian leader from the field in total defeat.

As the field was now temporarily cleared of his enemies, Judas turned his attention to the task of restoration and reconstruction. Naturally he thought first of the Holy City and its Temple. The defences of Jerusalem were restored, the hope and confidence of the inhabitants re-established, and the Temple repaired and rededicated amid great rejoicing. With internal affairs reinstated upon a firm footing, Judas turned his attention to his enemies in the surrounding country. The Edomites and Ammonites were the first to receive a warning blow; then Judas and Simon, dividing the army between them, answered a call of distress from their brethren in Galilee and Gilead, and delivered them from their oppressors; and finally, turning south, they subdued those ancient enemies of Israel, the Philistines.

But Judas and his countrymen were not to be left in permanent peace. At the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (164 B. C.) Lysias seized the reins of government and again took the field to avenge himself against the Jews. He laid siege to Jerusalem, but just as it appeared that the Jews would be forced to capitulate, news was received that serious opposition had been raised against him in Antioch. He hastily made terms with Judas and returned to his capital. By the terms of the compromise the Jews were accorded full religious freedom. The prize for which they had so valiantly fought was at last obtained. In the contest over the Syrian throne Lysias was killed and Demetrius obtained the crown. The new ruler was at first disposed to leave the Jewish nation unmolested, but because of false reports sent to him by jealous rivals of Judas he changed his attitude and ordered Nicanor to march upon Judea and bring the rebels into subjection. For the fifth time the Syrians were defeated and put to rout. The day of this signal victory was adopted as a feast-day, and thenceforward celebrated as "Nicanor's Day." This final blow of the great leader seemed to have demolished the yoke of Syrian oppression and guaranteed the independence of Judea.

But Judas was destined to pay the price of his life for the national hope of Israel. After a time the Syrian king made another effort to conquer the spirit of the Jewish patriots, and in the first total defeat which Judas ever sustained at the hands of his enemies he fell a martyr to the cause he had so bravely

defended. His body was tenderly prepared for burial and laid away in the family tomb at Modein by his devoted and broken-hearted followers.

No more impressive figure ever graced the stage of human action than Judas Maccabaeus. Others might have been more spectacular, but none was ever inspired by nobler designs or controlled by more unselfish motives than he. From David to John the Baptist he was the greatest leader who challenged Israel to rally to his standard. Bravery, earnestness, patriotism and piety combined to make a character worthy of the admiration of the best of men. Whatever may be one's religious interpretation of interbiblical history, he must surely admit that Judas Maccabaeus was a man of God's own choosing. If ever a man fell upon a crisis hour for which he was exactly fitted, such was certainly the lot of this Judean hero. He was just the leader whom Judaism needed at this tragic turn in its history, and his people soon recognized in him the God-sent defender of the national faith and fortune. As the Syrian king assayed to suppress this petty rebel foe, despotic contempt gave place to piqued rage, which in turn was succeeded by chagrined surprise, and finally yielded to an attitude of literal dread, real though unconfessed. How Judas, with but a handful of poorly equipped followers, could hurl cringing terror into the proud court of the Seleucidean tyrant, can be understood only by those who believe in an omipotent hand of providence. Well did his people nickname this hero "Maccabaeus," that is, "The Hammerer," for despotism never received the shock of heavier or more rapid blows than he gave the armies of Syria. To the end of time, independent of his religious significance, human history must accord a high place of recognition to the name and deeds of Judas Maccabaeus.

(2) *Jonathan.* This, the youngest of the five sons of Mattathias, and the successor of Judas, bore the well-merited title "The Cunning." He was a diplomat, and his diplomacy was the chief means of his success. While Judas prevailed by the invincible force of his great courage and determination, Jonathan accomplished his aims by strategy. After the death of Judas, the country for a time fell into a state of virtual chaos. The nation was divided into three factions—the Hellenists, the Chasidim (afterward called Pharisees), and the

Maccabeans. Jealously and prejudice grew rampant, and as the inevitable result came distrust and disorder. In these extremes the nation turned to Jonathan for leadership.

Jonathan gathered a small force and took refuge in the mountains, where he harassed the Syrian general until he gladly compromised on terms favorable to the Jews, and abandoned the attack. But Jonathan's most serious difficulty was opposition from within. Though he was the choice of the loyal Jews, he was violently opposed by the Greek sympathizers or Hellenists, who were led by the treacherous and unpatriotic highpriest Alcimus. A foul plot was laid against Jonathan, but he outwitted his enemies and gained a decided advantage over them.

The great opportunity of Jonathan came in the form of internal strife in the Syrian kingdom. A conflict arose between Demetrius and one Balas, a new claimant to the throne. Both sought the support of Jonathan, but, without precipitately pledging his allegiance to either, the wary Maccabean kept them striving to outdo one another in the liberality of their promises. Thus we find "the fugitive of a few years ago, now one of the arbiters of the Syrian throne, courted alike by the man in possession and the man who wanted to be!" (Grant: *Between the Testaments*, page 49.) Among other favors he secured the control of all Judea and recognition as highpriest, thus combining again the political and ecclesiastical leadership of the nation.

These successes made Jonathan master of Judea to a degree which Judas had never attained. He was now in practical, though not formal, possession of national independence. He finally openly espoused the cause of Balas, who succeeded in securing the throne and conferred still greater favors upon Jonathan. But his diplomacy finally wrought his death. While seeking to outwit and bring to favorable terms Tryphon, another usurper of the Syrian throne, he was captured, thrown into prison in chains, and later assassinated.

(3) *Simon.* The third of the Maccabean leaders was Simon. He was the last of the five brothers. It was only natural that after the loss of Jonathan the Jewish people should turn to him. Simon was a statesman and administrator, and a man of great prudence. He had the advantage of com-

ing into possession of a strong military equipment and a well organized government, bequeathed to him by Jonathan. Judas had won religious freedom for the Jews, Jonathan had secured the right of self-government, and the way was now open for Simon to obtain the final prize: national independence.

As soon as Simon assumed control of affairs he set to work further preparing Jerusalem and the surrounding country for defense. He then marched against Tryphon, who declined to offer resistance, and retired to Syria, murdered his patron, the young Antiochus, and usurped the throne. Simon then openly declared himself for Tryphon's rival, Demetrius Nicator. The latter was successful in the contest, and in grateful return for the services of Simon he released the Jews from all taxation and granted them absolute political independence. Their position was then practically that of an independent ally. Thus that freedom for which four of the sons of Mattathias had sacrificed their lives was realized by the fifth and last. And he was the one best able to make the most profitable use of the liberty he had gained, for he was the only real statesman of the group. In recognition of his ability and great service to the nation, the Jews conferred upon him the station of absolute sovereignty, and made the office hereditary in his family. An embassy was sent by Simon to the Roman Senate, and they too recognized the political independence of the Jewish kingdom.

After completely subjugating all Judea to his control, and once more defeating the Syrians in battle, Simon set himself assiduously to the task of restoring his war-torn and desolate realms. Peace and prosperity prevailed throughout the greater part of his reign. The only dark spot upon his career was the treatment accorded apostate Jews, whom he sought to exterminate, either by execution or expulsion. In view of his status as sovereign (prince) of the realm, Simon issued his own coinage. Several years had been spent in the peaceful pursuit of his policy of reconstruction, when he was tracherously assassinated by his own son-in-law.

Thus perished the last of the sons of the noble Mattathias, all five of whom met violent deaths while devoting themselves to the interests of their nation. Judas and Eleaza died in battle. The other three met death by treachery. They were all

buried in the family tomb at Modein, over which Simon built an imposing monument. This is now in ruins, but the honor of their noble service for a righteous cause abides as an enduring monument to the end of time.

The Asmonean Dynasty (135 to 63 B. C.)

With the death of Simon a typical dynasty came into power in Judea, for those who succeeded him attained to sovereignty by right of inheritance. The verdict of all history is demonstrated in their case, that leadership attained by lineage rather than merit is a peril to those who are led. The descendants of Simon in no case equaled the Maccabeans in ability or spirit.

(1) *John Hyrcanus.* After the death of Simon his son John Hyrcanus, having narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of his father's murderer, came to the place of high priest and "prince of the realm." He did not inherit the title of king, for Simon had not been allowed to assume that designation. Only a descendant of David could ever be recognized by Judah as king. While at least one of the Asmonean princes claimed to be "king," it is likely that the people at large never accorded him the title.

Hyrcanus had the craftiness and foresight of his father, but lacked most of the nobler qualities of Simon's character. He marks the beginning in the decline in character as well as fortune of the Maccabean house.

After resisting a long and severe siege which was made against Jerusalem by the Syrian king, Hyrcanus was finally compelled to accept terms which meant practically the subjugation of his realm to Syrian domination. Thus the fruit of the martyrdom of the Maccabees was temporarily lost by their first successor. But it was not long before contests over the Syrian throne enabled him to regain his independence, and to become fairly well established in the control of his kingdom. He was now free to turn his attention to affairs of conquest, and by a series of successful campaigns he enlarged the boundaries of his domains until they extended practically to the limits of the ancient kingdom of Solomon. The chief of his campaigns of conquest were againstt Samaria and Idumea. He subdued the Samaritans and destroyed their temple on Mt. Gerizim. The Idumeans were not only forced

to submit to Jewish domination, but to receive the rite of circumcision and become formally members of the Jewish race. In another conflict with the Syrians over the control of Samaria and some coast towns the arms of Hyrcanus once more prevailed.

The fact which detracts most from the glory of his reign was John's ungrateful treatment of the Pharisees. This group were religiously the heart of the nation, and had been the chief supporters of the Maccabeans from Mattathias to Simon. They were the most intensely religious representatives of the Jewish race, and were therefore more interested in the proper observance of the law than in the political progress of the nation. This attitude, together with their opposition to the combination of political supremacy with the highpriesthood, irritated Hyrcanus, and at the first pretext which arose he turned his favor to the Sadducees.

John Hyrcanus exercised all the prerogatives of a king, and reigned for approximately thirty years. He died in B. C. 106.

(2) *Aristobulus I.* It was the intention of John Hyrcanus that his widow should succeed him, but his son Aristobulus seized the throne and cast his mother into prison, where he permitted her to die of starvation. All his other relatives were disposed of in such way as to guarantee that they would not obstruct his unbridled ambition. However, his favorite brother Antigonus was spared, and allowed to share with him the conduct of affairs. But even Antigonus was doomed to a cruel fate. Attendants of Aristobulus who were jealous of Antigonus inveigled the king into a dastardly plot whereby they compassed the death of his brother. When Aristobulus learned that his brother had been slain as the result of a scheme in which he had ignorantly acquiesced, he died in an agony of remorse, having reigned less than a year. His only act of political significance was the conquest of the Itureans, whom he compelled to accept Judaism, as his father had done in the case of the Idumeans. He was decidedly pro-Hellenic in sympathies, and favored the promotion of Greek culture in his realms.

(3) *Alexander Jannaeus.* After the death of Aristobulus his widow raised his brother Alexander Jannaeus to the throne

and gave him her hand in marriage. He reigned twenty-seven years in cruelty and despotism which rivaled that of his predecessor. He carried on constant warfare against the surrounding nations, and succeeded to some extent in widening the boundaries of his country. At one time he came near being conquered by an Egyptian king, but was saved as a result of rivalries within the royal house of Egypt.

Alexander added to the insults inflicted upon the Pharisees by his father, and made wider the breach between the strict nationalists and the throne. So intense became the hatred of the pious Jews toward him, that on a certain occasion he was mobbed in the Temple while officiating in his capacity as high priest. In consequence a large number of Jews were slain as a measure of vengeance. Ultimately civil war broke out and raged for six years, entailing great bloodshed and distress. Shortly before his death Jannaeus repented of his despotic policies and counseled his wife Alexandra to cast her lot after his death with the Pharisees. The grief manifested for him was entirely superficial, because his death was afterward regarded by the Pharisees as an occasion for celebration.

(4) *Alexandra.* The wife and successor of Alexander Jannaeus was the first woman who ever held the scepter of the Jews in her own right. She was one of the best and most beloved rulers which the ancient city of Jerusalem had ever known. She followed the advice of her husband and effected an alliance with the Pharisees. She reigned wisely and well, preserved peace and promoted prosperity in her kingdom. The palmy days of Simon's reign seemed once more restored to Judea. By firm and tactful negotiations she was able to avoid serious conflicts with outside nations.

The reign of Alexandra was distinguished by a great religious revival which brought the re-establishment of respect for the Law. The supervision of the Sanhedrin was given to the Pharisees, and under the administration of Simon ben-Shetach, the brother of the queen, and Judah ben-Tabbai, a learned Jew invited to Jerusalem from Alexandria, sweeping reforms were made. Pharisaism now won an advantage which it never lost.

For nine years Alexandra ruled with marked success, and died with the love and respect of her subjects.

(5) *Aristobulus II.* During the reign of Alexandra the highpriesthood had been conferred upon her eldest son Hyrcanus II, and at her death she designated him as her successor. As the firstborn, his was the rightful claim to the throne. But his younger brother Aristobulus, an aggressive, ambitious, shrewd and unprincipled adventurer, began immediately to make plans for securing the throne for himself. He sought and obtained the support of the Sadducees, who were very much disgruntled because the royal favor had been transferred to the Pharisees, and with their aid he launched a rebellion against his brother. Hyrcanus, being an indolent weakling, had neither the disposition nor the ability to offer successful resistance. In a battle at Jericho he was defeated, and the greater part of his own following soon deserted to Aristobulus. Hyrcanus was forced to yield, and accept terms by which his brother should possess the throne and he be content with the office of highpriest.

But the cause of Hyrcanus found championship from an unexpected source. Antipater, a crafty and capable Idumean, entered the contest and espoused the cause of the highpriest. Without great difficulty Hyrcanus was persuaded to cancel the covenant with his brother, and lay claim again to the throne. They secured the aid of Aretas, the king of Arabia, who marched against Aristobulus with a large force, defeated him and drove him into the Temple fortress at Jerusalem.

Just at this crisis it became known that the Roman legions were in Syria, approaching Palestine on an expedition of conquest. This gave suddenly a new turn to the course of events. Both parties to the conflict knew that it was no longer a test of their respective military strength, but of which should first succeed in securing the favor of the approaching Roman. Aristobulus and Antipater had judgment enough to realize that to offer resistance to the Roman army would be utter folly. So both began at once to sue for favor, Aristobulus on his own account, and Antipater in the name of his weakling tool Hyrcanus. Aristobulus proved to be the successful contestant. The Roman general Scaurus ordered Aretas to raise the siege of Jerusalem and retire. Aristobulus fell upon the retreating army of the Arabian king and inflicted a great slaughter.

About this time news reached Judea that the incomparable Pompey was himself in Damascus. Once more both the brothers rushed to meet the Roman and treat for favor, and this time there went with them a delegation from the Jewish populace to entreat Pompey that he would oust both the Asmoneans and restore the pure hierarchy of former days. The Roman conqueror was bent upon another expedition, and so notified them all that he would make no decision at that time, but would later visit Jerusalem in person and settle the dispute there. Aristobulus, impatient at the suspense of waiting, and doubtless fearing that the outcome would be disastrous to his ambitions, returned to his realms and prepared for a desperate resistance to the approach of Pompey. Pompey immediately abandoned his contemplated campaign against another foe, and turned his attention to the defiant Judean. When attacked in his first position near Jericho, Aristobulus surrendered the fortress, but he himself escaped to Jerusalem. When Pompey laid siege to him there, he went forth in great trepidation to meet the Roman conqueror, and agreed to give over Jerusalem into the hands of Pompey, but a force of his followers took refuge in the Temple fortress and declined to yield. For three months they held out against the fearful impact of the Roman implements of siege, but the walls were finally penetrated by the Romans, and nearly all the besieged were slaughtered. Aristobulus was carried captive to Rome, and many of his fellow countrymen with him. These prisoners of war composed the nucleus of the Jewish colony in Rome which provided the original constituency of the Christian church at that place, to which Paul wrote his greatest epistle. Hyrcanus was confirmed in the highpriesthood, and Antipater was made governor of Judea. Thus the Jews, who on frequent occasions before had parleyed for the friendship and protection of Rome, now felt the invincible grip of her conquering hand, from which they were destined never to escape as an independent nation.

IV. The Roman Period (63 B. C. to A. D. 135)

This period extends from the conquest of Judea by Pompey to the suppression of the rebellion of Bar-Cochba by Hadrian, which brought the entire dissolution of the national

life of the Jews. The New Testament student is concerned chiefly with the course of events up to and including the destruction of Jerusalem in A. D. 70.

As was characteristic of the Roman government in dealing with its provinces, the Jews were treated with generous consideration so long as they were submissive to Roman rule. Their religion became one of the legally recognized religions of the empire, which meant that it was protected by Roman authority. They were allowed to pursue their national and private affairs without interference as long as they maintained peace and remained loyal to Rome. They had their own judicial and legislative body, the Sanhedrin, which had jurisdiction in all civil and minor criminal affairs. The burden of tribute was not intolerable, though it was a matter of great chagrin to the strict Jews, who felt it was a national disgrace to be compelled to make any contribution, be it ever so small, to a Gentile ruler. The Jews really fared better under Roman rule than they had at any time since the Persian domination. But the fanaticism of an exaggerated religious bigotry and racial exclusivenes, agitated by a class of extremists called Zealots, kept the Jewish people in a perpetual fermentation, and added fuel to the fires of hatred until open rebellion broke out, which ultimately resulted in the annihilation of the nation. Had the Jews cultivated the favor of Rome their subsequent history might have been different.

A short while after his arrival as a captive in Rome, Aristobulus escaped and aroused Judea to a rather ominous rebellion, but he was finally defeated, captured, and sent again as a prisoner to Rome. Later he was liberated by Julius Caesar, and sent on an expedition against Syria. His son, Alexander, who eluded Pompey and escaped captivity, had already made unsuccessful efforts to regain the throne of Judea. If Aristobulus could subdue the soldiers of Pompey in Syria there was hope that he and his sons might oust Hyrcanus and Antipater. But these hopeful prospects were all shattered by the murder of Aristobulus and the execution of Alexander. Only Antigonus, the other son of Aristobulus, was left as a rival to Hyrcanus, and he too was destined to meet a violent death not many years later. The cause of national independence

was forever lost to Judaism; the nation could but remain the unwilling subject of Rome.

Changes in the political status of Judea in the application of Roman rule divide this period into five distinct parts: (1) the Idumean dynasty; (2) the first procurators; (3) the reign of Agrippa I.; (4) the later procurators; (5) the Jewish revolt.

The Idumean Dynasty (63 B. C. to A. D. 6)

As a matter of fact, Jerusalem had been all this time under the control of Antipater, who may justly be regarded as the first ruler of the Idumean dynasty. This royal line furnished the Herods, who so frequently appear in New Testament history.

(1) *Antipater.* The Idumeans were successors of the Edomites, the traditional descendants of Esau. In the campaigns of John Hyrcanus Idumea was annexed to Judea and the people forced to submit to the rite of circumcision, thus becoming nominally Jews (cf. p. 43). Antipas, the father of Antipater, was appointed governor of Idumea by Alexander Jannaeus. He was succeeded by Antipater, who proved to be a cunning, ambitious, and resourceful leader. Two features of his policy showed the shrewdness of the man. On the one hand he deliberately espoused the cause of the weaker side of the Asmonean family, because he knew that the self-willed and aggressive Aristobulus would never permit him to hold the reigns of power; while on the other hand he courted and won the favor of each succeeding Roman conqueror, knowing that with their support he could overcome any kind of opposition. He succeeded in making himself "indispensable alike to the feeble Priest Hyrcanus and to the powerful chiefs of the Roman republic." (Stanley *History of the Jewish Church*, vol. III, page 361). We have already seen how, using Hyrcanus as a tool, he gained possession of the government of Judea. Hyrcanus was highpriest and nominal ruler; Antipater really administered affairs. Under Julius Caesar he secured the procuratorship of all Palestine. When he had made himself secure in the place of sovereignty he proceeded to confer high honors upon his sons Phasael and Herod by appointing the former military governor of Judea and

the latter tetrarch of Galilee. But in the midst of his well-wrought plans for advancement he was poisoned by a fanatical Jew.

(2) *Herod.* The mention of this name thrusts before our mental vision another Name which is above every name, JESUS CHRIST, the Saviour of the World; for it was while Herod was still on the throne that Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea. The bloody reign of this dramatic ruler may be divided into three periods: struggle for supremacy, progressive administration, and domestic chaos.

(a) The beginning of his career was marked by a tense and sometimes very doubtful *struggle for supremacy.* The one fixed and unvarying policy of Herod to the end of his life was to remove every opponent, regardless of relationship or cost. Even those nearest and dearest to him were stricken down by his irrepressible ambition. Like his father, he succeeded in keeping himself on the side of the winning hand at Rome.

After the death of Antipater Judea was left in the hands of Phasael and Galilee under the control of Herod. But difficult days were before the two brothers. Julius Caesar had been assassinated and the cause of the republic lost at Philippi. Thus the Idumeans were thrown on the vanquished side of the rivalry at Rome. By their subjects they were hated as foreign rulers and imposters. Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus II, called in the aid of the Parthians and captured Jerusalem. Phasael was captured, and despairing of the cause, committed suicide. But Herod could not be so easily subdued. He evaded his enemies, and after much difficulty and privation reached Rome, where he requested Antony to place the young Aristobulus, son of Alexander, on the throne of Judea. Just how sincere he was in this reqeust we may not judge, but at any rate Antony declined to assign the kingdom of Judea to the youthful Asmonean, but conferred it upon Herod himself, granting him the title "king of the Jews." He returned to Palestine with a small Roman army, gathered other forces who were in sympathy with his cause, and succeeded in capturing Jerusalem 37 B. C.

Herod proceeded at once to rid himself of his opponents. Antigonus and most of the Sanhedrin were executed. Later

he had some of his agents to "accidentally" drown the fair young Aristobulus, whom under pressure he had appointed to the position of highpriest. The aged Hyrcanus, so long the faithful tool of his father's ambition, was the next to fall under the unrestrained cruelty of the tyrant. After Octavian (Augustus Caesar) had secured the supremacy of the world empire by his victory at Actium, Herod won from him the promise of friendship and protection. He was now the absolute master of the entire situation, and prepared to reign in peace. But one more act of consummate barbarity must complete his bloody march to power. Mariamne, his beautiful and most beloved wife, was accused of unfaithfulness by his sister Salome and condemned to die. Her tragic fate was soon repeated in the execution of her proud and sagacious mother.

(b) Herod's first career of bloodshed now gave place to a real effort at *progressive administration,* though even this era was not unmixed with cruelty. After he had disposed of all those who challenged his right to the throne, Herod turned his attention to the improvement of his domains. He became ostensibly (and perhaps really) an enthusiastic patron of culture and art, and induced several men of learning to take up residence in his realms. He provoked no unnecessary wars, thus giving the country opportunity for development.

Herod's program of reconstruction exhibited some real ability of statesmanship. He laid the foundation of new cities, the chief of which was Caesarea, so named for his patron Octavian. The city of Samaria was improved and enlarged, and a beautiful temple built there, after which the name of the city was changed to Sebaste (Greek for "Augustus") in honor of the Roman emperor. He rebuilt the Temple at Jerusalem with even greater magnificence than that of Solomon, and erected a splendid palace for himself. Many other improvements were made in the city, such as building a large amphitheater just outside the walls, and a theater within. In these enterprises Herod exhibited evidence of real administrative ability and architectural taste. He showed

that in a different situation and with a different temperament he might have been a truly great ruler.

(c) Nevertheless, Herod was not to die in peace, but closed his despotic reign in a state of *domestic chaos.* He never recovered from the execution of Mariamne. Remorse preyed upon his conscience until he became almost insanely morose. It was only natural that such a state of mind should breed suspicion of all about him. His sons by Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, he had designed as his successors. They were educated in Rome, and carefully prepared for regal positions; but upon their return to Herod's court, through the jealous machinations of Antipater his eldest son, and Salome, they fell under suspicion and were executed. A little later he learned that Antipater was devising a plot against his life, so he had him thrown into prison and later executed. One of the last acts of cruelty perpetrated by Herod was the slaughter of the innocents at Bethlehem. He died in excruciating agony from a combination of diseases about 4 B. C., having reigned thirty-four years.

In accordance with a will made by Herod shortly before his death, his three sons came into possession of his realms. Archelaus was made king of Judea (including Samaria and Idumea), Herod Antipas became tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and Herod Philip became tetrarch of Trachonitis and adjacent regions.

(3) *Archelaus.* Archelaus was a signal failure as a ruler. Disturbances prevailed from the very beginning. Among his first official acts was the suppression of a riot in Jerusalem. While he was waiting for Augustus to confirm the will of Herod, rebellion broke out in Judea, and required the interference of the Syrian governor for settlement. Thus he began his administration in the face of difficulties with which only true statesmanship could cope, and Archelaus was wholly destitute of this qualification. His entire reign was a period of confusion and bloodshed. Opposition confronted him on every side. His right as a successor of Herod was challenged by his relations, especially Antipas. His marriage to a divorced woman gave deep offense to the Jews, and augmented their hatred of him. The sole redeeming feature of his reign was that, like his father and brothers, he engaged in considerable

building operations. After ten years of tragically incompetent administration he was banished and his domains taken over by the Roman emperor.

(4) *Herod Antipas.* A longer and much more successful reign presents itself here. Herod Antipas was diplomatic and conservative, and was able to preserve relative peace. He carefully fortified his frontiers, and conducted extensive building enterprises. The darkest blots upon his record were his illegal marriage with Herodias, and the beheading of John the Baptist, whom, as we learn from Josephus, he had imprisoned at Marchaerus. It was he to whom Pilate sent Jesus for trial (Lk. 23:7-12). His greatest difficulties came from his unfortunate domestic relations, which in the end compassed his downfall. Herodias, in a fit of jealousy at her brother Agrippa, persuaded Antipas to go with her to Rome and entreat Caligula, who had recently attained to the throne (A. D. 37), to confer upon him the title of king. But instead of securing the object which he sought, he was deposed and banished.

(5) *Philip.* Philip had but little connection with New Testament history, and hence may be dismissed with but brief notice. It was into his realms that Jesus retired when Pharisaic hatred became so intense as to imperil his life. His domains were kept in relative peace and order. He was by all odds the best of the Herods. Schurer sums up his career by saying that "his reign was mild, just and peaceful" (*op. cit.*, I, ii, p. 14).

The First Procurators (A. D. 6 to 41)

After the deposition of Archelaus the Judeans asked to be relieved of the rule of the Herods. They preferred a governor appointed directly by Rome: not, however, as a really desirable policy, but as the least of the necessary evils of heathen domination. So Judea was placed under the surveillance of the governor of Syria, and received a procurator.

The residence of the procurator was at Caesarea, though on special occasions, particularly during the great feasts, he took up temporary quarters in Jerusalem, probably because the large aggregation of people there at that time required his personal attention. At such times he resided in the palace of Herod, on the western side of the city.

The prerogatives of these procurators were three: to collect the taxes levied by the Roman government; to command the military forces of the province; and to act as judge in the more important judicial cases. Because Judea was an imperial, and not a senatorial province, the taxes collected went directly to Caesar (cf. Mt. 22:17ff.). In the collection of these taxes many Jews found employment. An individual would secure the right to collect the customs in a certain district, for which he would pay to the Roman government a stipulated annual sum, and whatever revenues beyond that amount he could collect would be his own profit. A maximum was supposed to be determined by law, but it was so irregular that great opportunity was left for extortion. These collectors were called in Latin, the official language, *publicani*, the "publicans" of our New Testament, so much hated by the loyal Jews, both as extortioners and as agents of a foreign power.

The procurator was a military commander. A force of provincial troops were placed in his command with which to preserve order and keep his realms in subjection. These troops were garrisoned at numerous points, so that a Roman soldier was a familiar object in Judea (cf. Lk. 3:14).

The judicial function of the procurator was almost entirely confined to cases of capital offence, all minor cases being left to the jurisdiction of the local courts. Thus the Sanhedrin could try Jesus, and ostensibly determine his guilt, but the sanction of Pilate must be secured for his execution.

So the Jews were left entirely free in all matters of religion, and were allowed great liberty in civil affairs, and yet none of the procurators was able to give general satisfaction. As soon as Judea was made a Roman province, the Syrian governor Quirinius ordered a new levy of taxes, which precipitated a revolt. In fact, the attitude of most of the Palestinian Jews toward the Roman government made it practically impossible for a representative of that government to give satisfaction, no matter how wisely and well he might seek to administer affairs. However, none of the procurators proved to be an able or tactful ruler.

The only one of the early procurators in whom we are especially interested is Pontius Pilate, who was in charge of affairs in Judea when Jesus was crucified. He held the office

for ten years, not because of the justice or satisfactoriness of his administration, but due to the provincial policy of Tiberius, the ruling emperor. Extremely cruel treatment of his subjects finally brought his recall to Rome.

Herod Agrippa I (A. D. 41 to 44).

Agrippa was the grandson of Herod the Great. The story of his career reads like romance. He was educated in Rome and spent his early life there. Just as he was approaching middle age he was banished by Tiberius, and took refuge in an old tower in southern Palestine. While there he sought to bring his miserable life to an end by suicide. From this rash act he was prevented by his faithful wife. He continued to suffer ill-fortune until he made his way back to Rome, and found an entrance into the favor of Caligula. But by an ill-advised remark he again gave offence to the emperor Tiberius, who cast him into prison in chains. But this was the last dark hour before the dawn of his better day. When, within a short while, Caligula became emperor he appointed Agrippa king, bestowing upon him the tetrarchy of Philip, and a little later that of Antipas as well (A. D. 39). He did not however come into actual possession of his domains, but remained for a while longer a resident of Rome. He was a "king" for some time before he actually possessed a kingdom.

When Caludius came to the imperial throne Agrippa again won the royal favor, and secured, in addition to his former domains, Judea, Idumea and Samaria. He then returned to Palestine, took up his residence in Jerusalem, and ruled with marked success for four years. He exhibited the tact and shrewdness of his famous grandfather, but without Herod's jealous and bloodthirsty spirit. He courted earnestly the favor of the Jews, especially of the Pharisees, as was demonstrated in the persecution recorded in Acts xii. But while manifesting ostensibly great deference to Judaism, Agrippa showed himself to be in reality thoroughly imbued with Hellenism. He provided his realms with many of the amusements common in the Greek world about him. Just as his prospects appeared to be brightest he was stricken suddenly by a loathsome disease, and died a horrible death (A. D. 44).

The Later Procurators (A. D. 44 to 66).

It was expected that Agrippa would be succeeded by his seventeen-year-old son Agrippa II, but Claudius, upon the advice of his counselors, who regarded Agrippa as too young, decided otherwise. Palestine was placed under a procurator, while Agrippa II was given the little region of Chalchis, in the Lebanon district, though later there was conferred upon him the former tetrarchy of Philip, embracing Trachonitis. He reigned with fair success, though with greatly restricted prerogatives, until his death, about A. D. 100.

Between A. D. 44 and 66 Palestine had seven procurators, Fadus, Alexander, Cumanus, Felix, Festus, Albinus, and Florus. This period was one of great stress and turmoil throughout the province. The Zealots, and later the Sicarii, adopted the most extreme measures of violence in opposing the Roman rule, even to the assassination of Roman officials and their sympathizers. The administrations of the first two were comparatively mild and peaceable, though even they were disturbed by occasional outbreaks. But open rebellion came in the procuratorship of Cumanus (A. D. 48-52.) In three clashes with the Jewish populace he subdued them with extreme cruelty and exacted a heavy toll of lives. The administration of Felix (A. D. 52-60) exceeded in cruelty and severity any of his predecessors. Conditions were considerably improved during the time of Festus, only to be thrown into a state of greater chaos during the term of his successor Albinus, and reach a climax under Florus.

The racial hatred of the Jew, and the cruelty and avarice of the Roman, interacted to creat a situation the horrors of which could scarcely be exaggerated.

Of the procurators of this period, Felix and Festus are of greatest interest to the New Testament student. It was by Felix that Paul was kept in prison at Caesarea for two years, because of his hope "that money would be given him of Paul, and desiring to gain favor with the Jews" (Ac. 26:26, 27). This brief descriptive notice in Acts is a remarkably accurate epitome of the man's character. It was before Festus that Paul appealed to Rome, and was later heard again by Festus in company with Agrippa II. The reflection of the character of both

of these officials in the Acts account is in striking harmony with what we know of them from other sources.

During this entire period from A. D. 44 to 66 the Jews were in a perpetual state of rage and frenzy, getting ready for the bloody drama which would form the next period of their national history. It was when conditions were becoming most distressful that Paul was taking the collection among his churches for the destitute Jewish Christians in and about Jerusalem. Their destitution was likely due in part to the unsettled political affairs.

The Jewish Revolt (A. D. 66 to 70)

The Zealots had now been eagerly promoting their propaganda for nearly a century. The agitation had achieved its designed effects. It had created in the heart of patriotic Judaism an irrespressible hatred of Rome and all that in any way represented Rome. It was during this period of confusion that James the brother of Jesus met his martyrdom, about A. D. 62. Many other faithful souls went down to death who really had no special sympathy with Rome, but who declined to take part in the mad protest of the Zealots.

The actual revolution broke out in the procuratorship of Florus (A. D. 66). This avaricious and unscrupulous official sought to plunder the Temple of some of its treasures. To avenge the insult thus perpetrated against Jerusalem and all Israel, Judea, after a brief interval of unsuccessful efforts at arbitration, arose in one mighty, bloody, desperate effort to throw off the Roman yoke. Carnage and devastation reigned, on every hand. It was in vain that King Agrippa sought to allay the rage of the infuriated masses. Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, undertook to quell the rebellion, but was unsuccessful. He was driven back with great slaughter, and arrived at Antioch with only a remnant of the army with which he had set out.

On the tidal wave of this victory the revolutionists swept everything with them. The advocates of peace were forced to yield, and take part in the rebellion. The Jewish leaders now began—though doubtless with little hope of success—to organize the nation for war. Josephus was placed in charge of Galilee, and went through with elaborate preparations,

though as a matter of fact he had no hope of success in the war. In the other districts of Palestine military leaders were placed to set the land in order for war. The Sanhedrin remained in charge of affairs in Judea and Jerusalem.

Vespasian, one of the greatest of the Roman generals, and afterward emperor, was sent to put down the rebellion. In rapid succession he captured the strongholds which had been prepared for defense. In Galilee Josephus capitulated as soon as the Romans attacked him. By the close of the first year of the war Vespasian was before Jerusalem. Just at this juncture an event occurred which was calculated to give the revolutionists an advantage. The death of Nero brought confusion in the imperial city, which caused a cessation of hostilities for a season. This gave the Jews a chance to reorganize their forces, but instead of taking advantage of the opportunity they spent the time in petty civil warfare. The forces within the city were rent into several contending factions, who sought one another's blood as ferociously as they had battled with the advancing Romans. The Zealots were reinforced by an army of Idumeans, whom they brought into the city under cover of night, but these very soon departed, presumably in disgust at the civil strife among the Jews. Numbers of the forces of defense were slain, and valuable supplies were destroyed, hence when Titus, son of Vespasian and his successor in command, renewed the siege with a force of four legions of regulars and many auxiliary troops, the defenders of the city were unprepared to successfully resist. After five months of horrible suffering Jerusalem fell, and was destroyed by the Roman conqueror. Numbers of the inhabitants were put to the sword, while many were taken as prisoners to be used in gladiatorial combats or to grace the triumphal procession of the conqueror, which was later staged in Rome.

Thus ended a revolution which from its beginning was inevitably doomed to failure. With this calamity the national identity of Judaism was completely and forever lost. The last two institutions of their distinctly national life were abolished, never to reappear; namely, the Sanhedrin and the sacrifice. From this time the rabbis, representing the Pharisees, dominated the race, for with the destruction of the Temple and the abolition of the Sanhedrin the Sadducees passed into

history. The center of rabbinic influence was located at Jamnia, in western Judea, where the leading rabbis of the Jews had taken refuge before Jerusalem fell.

Two other vain efforts were made by the Jews to assert themselves and gain larger liberties. The first was made by the Jews in Cyrene, Egypt, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia, A. D. 115 to 117. It was suppressed by Trajan with great slaughter, and resulted in more rigid restrictions upon the race. The second, which was also the last, was confined to Palestine. It took place during the reign of Hadrian, in A. D. 132 to 135. A fanatical leader known as Barchochba adopted the role of Messiah, and led in a terrific insurrection, probably occasioned by the reported designs of Hadrian to build a pagan shrine on the site of the Temple. In quelling the rebellion the Romans practically annihilated the scattered remnants of the nation, and imposed severe persecution upon the Jews in other parts of the Empire. Palestine was thenceforth the undisputed property of the pagan, and Palestinian Judaism was at an end.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LIFE OF JUDAISM

The writings of the New Testament are linked up with the existing currents of human life more intimately and significantly than any other literature which has ever been written. It is its relation to certain remarkable developments in the experience of mankind which imparts to the New Testament its transcendent interest and incomparable value. To properly understand and appreciate those developments one must become acquainted with the circumstances in the midst of which they arose. The creative factors which wrought these developments first appeared and operated within the borders of Palestine. Hence to become acquainted with the situation in which these factors originally functioned, the conditions upon which the Christian message first reacted, the circumstances which environed the actors in that divine drama of the ages known as the First Christian Century, one must secure the most accurate possible knowledge of the life of Palestinian Judaism.

The Institutions of Judaism.

We consider under this head those features of Jewish life which gave distinction and permanence to the character of the nation. They all had contact with primitive Christianity, and hence directly or indirectly affected the New Testament.

The Synagogue.

When the curtain falls upon Old Testament history we have heard of no place of worship other than the Temple. When we open the New Testament we are confronted immediately by a new institution, very prominent in Jewish religion, known as the synagogue. The word is of Greek derivation, and means "gathered together;" i.e., a place of assembly. Where did this new institution originate, what was its history, its purpose, etc.?

As to its origin, we are unable to be exact. There was a tradition among the Jews that it was established by Moses, but of course this was incorrect. The theory on which Biblical scholarship is now practically agreed is that it originated in

Babylon during the Exile, and gained its permanent place in the life of the nation during the Restoration. After the tribes had been carried into captivity, since they were hopelessly separated from the Temple with its worship, the more devout met together in some convenient place to read and discuss passages from the Law. This custom of assembling became more regular and widespread, until stated places and occasions of meeting were adopted. It is regarded by some as possible that houses were built in Babylonia for this purpose, but definite evidence for such buildings does not appear until probably as late as the Maccabean period.

Under the reform instituted by Ezra at the time of the Restoration, a great impetus was given to the development of the synagogue. Ezra placed great emphasis upon the systematic study of the Law. This was the distinctive feature of the synagogue service. Consequently the synagogue came to be recognized as the regular school for the public instruction of the people. It is probable the services were at first held only on the Sabbath, but long before New Testament times it became the custom to conduct synagogue schools on weekdays as well. The teaching was done by the scribes. The custom also arose, doubtless long before the time of our Lord, of having synagogue services on Monday and Thursday, for the convenience of the country people, who generally came to market on those days.

A synagogue was usually built on the highest ground to be found in the town, or, if this location was not accessible, somewhere near the chief square at the entrance to the town. In shape the building might be rectangular or round. It was frequently beautified by colonnades and carvings of various kinds. Over the main entrance there was carved some symbol sacred to the religious sense of Judaism, such as the seven-branched candlestick, or the pot of manna. On the inside the synagogue seems to have been fashioned somewhat after the plan of the Temple. There was first the space where those attending the service were assembled, the men separate from the women, as in the Women's Court and the Court of Israel in the Temple. Then near the center of the building was the rostrum, occupied by the one who officiated in the exercises, corresponding roughly to the Holy Place in the Temple. To

the rear of the rostrum, and separated by a curtain, was the "ark," or chest, which contained the sacred rolls of the scriptures. This seems certainly to have been regarded as suggestive of the Holy of Holies. The common people sat facing the ark, while persons of distinction occupied "chief seats," with their backs to the ark. The cost of erecting the building was ordinarily borne by the local congregation, though wealthy friends might sometimes donate a synagogue to a community, as in the case of the centurion at Capernaum (cf. Lk. 7:5). It is thought probable that this is the synagogue discovered in 1905 at Tell-Hum on the Sea of Galilee. At this place the German Oriental Society un-earthed an ancient Hebrew synagogue measuring 78 by 59 feet, and built of a white limestone almost equal in beauty to marble. "Its roof was gable-shaped, and it was surprizingly ornamented with fine carvings representing animals, birds, fruits, etc.; though in some cases these ornamentations had been intentionally mutilated" (Cobern: *New Archeological Discoveries*, page 366). In case a community could not afford a synagogue building, they might be accomodated to quarters in a private home, or secure a regular meeting place in the open, as did the devout Jews of Philippi (Ac. 16:13). However, a place of meeting in the open was not called a synagogue, but a *proseuche*—"place of prayer."

There was officially connected with the synagogue a group of elders, who were elected by the congregation to have general supervision of the community life. (Cf. Edersheim: *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, p. 438). Within Palestine, in the cities dominated by the Jewish population, the elders had control of both civil and religious affairs, but in the Dispersion their prerogatives were of course exclusively religious. The regular synagogue services were in charge of an officer known as the "ruler." This officer saw to the upkeep of the building, took care of the scrolls, and conducted, or appointed some one to conduct, the Sabbath-day services. Other officers known as "receivers" were responsible for collecting and distributing alms. A subordinate official known as the "minister" acted as an assistant to the ruler of the synagogue.

The synagogue services were according to a more or less set form. After the preliminary exercises, consisting of open-

ing "benedictions," and the reciting of a ritual of confessions called the "Shema," and prayer, a section was read from the Law, then usually one from the Prophets, and some one was called upon, or volunteered, to add expository and hortatory comments. After a concluding benediction, pronounced by a priest, if there was one present, the audience was dismissed.

In the days of Paul and Jesus there was not in Judaism a more influential institution than the synagogue.

The Temple.

To the Jew the Temple was the only place in which Jehovah could be worshipped in a real and adequate way. It is true, there were prayer and praise in home and synagogue, and no doubt many devout souls of mystical temperament held communion with God in secret devotions, but worship in the strict sense, as the Jew conceived it, was confined to the Temple. The synagogue was distinctively a place for teaching; the Temple was the place of worship. Hence the Temple occupied an exceedingly vital place in the religion of Judaism.

(1) *The Temple Building.* The Temple in the courts of which our Savior walked and taught was one of the most beautiful and imposing structures ever achieved by human skill. The Roman empire had no greater building, outside the imperial city. But it should be known by the New Testament student that this was not Solomon's Temple, nor was it Zerubbabel's Temple. It was the Temple begun by Herod in 20 B. C., and still under process of construction during the ministry of Jesus.

This was the fourth Temple. The first was that planned by David and built by Solomon, which was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B. C. The second was built by Zerubbabel in 516 B. C., the time of the Restoration. This was plundered and dismantled by Antiochus Epiphanes in 168 B. C., and three years later was restored and rededicated by Judas Maccabaeus. Beginning at about 20 B. C., Herod the Great undertook the rebuilding of the Temple. Work was continued on it for forty-six years, then other improvements made until its final completion A. D. 64. It was destroyed by Titus A. D. 70, and has never since been rebuilt.

Herod's Temple was in the shape of an irregular oblong, broader on the north side than on the south. It was located on Mt. Moriah, an eminence in the lower or eastern side of the city of Jerusalem. The entire area was enclosed by a battlemented wall, penetrated by several gates, the exact number of which we do not know. There were at least five, four on the west side and one on the south, with possibly three others, an additional one on the south, one on the north, and one on the east. The chief and most elaborately constructed entrance was the south gate on the west side. Through this one entered first the Court of the Gentiles, so named because Gentiles were allowed there. It was richly adorned with huge porches and colonnades. On the south side was the Royal Porch, where there were 162 marble columns in four rows, and with Corinthian capitals. On the east side was Solomon's Porch, mentioned in the New Testament (Jno. 10:32, etc.). It had three rows of columns. Similar porches, with three rows of columns each, bordered the northern and western sides of the Gentiles' Court. Upon the columns rested a flat roof, decorated with most gorgeous ornamentation. On an elevation slightly above the level of the Gentiles' Court, and surrounded by a light marble partition four and a half feet high, was the Sanctuary. Within its sacred precincts a Gentile dared not pass, on penalty of death. In 1871 Clermont-Ganneau discovered a stone tablet which had been used as one of the posters placed at the entrance to this court of the Sanctuary. It bore the words: "No stranger is to enter within the balustrade round the Temple and enclosure. Whoever is caught will be responsible to himself for his death, which will ensue." It is significant that this inscription in the Jewish Temple was in the Greek language. (Cf. Cobern: *op. cit.*, page 355). It was penetrated by nine gates, four on the south, four on the north, and on the east the Beautiful Gate (Ac. 3:2), the most magnificent entrance to the Temple, and the one through which the majority of worshippers entered. The length of the Sanctuary lay east and west. Within it, from east to west, were the Court of the Women, the Court of Israel, the Court of the Priests, and the Temple proper, comprising the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies. The Women's Court was so called because women were allowed there, but no further. Into the

Court of Israel any male Israelite might go, provided he had conformed to the elaborate rules of purification. It was separated by a low balustrade, about eighteen inches high, from the Court of the Priests, which was before and about the Temple proper. In the foreground of the Priests' Court was the altar of burnt-offering, about which the priests were ministering daily. The inner sanctuary, or Temple proper, was elevated above all its surroundings, built of white marble, elaborately ornamented, and furnished with the sacred implements of worship. In the Holy Place were the altar of incense, a table for the shew-bread, and the seven-branched golden candlestick. Before the Holy of Holies hung the richly embroidered curtain, called in the New Testament "the veil of the Temple" (Matt. 27:51). There was no furniture whatever within it, save a large stone upon which the highpriest sat the golden censer when he entered once a year, on the Day of Atonement.

(2) *The Temple Worship.* The worship in the Temple of the Jews was carried on every day in the year. In this daily worship the most prominent feature, and doubtless the most important, was the daily burnt-offering made for the people as a whole. It was made every morning and evening, and consisted of a male lamb a year old, and free from blemish of any kind, and accompanied by a "meat-offering" and a "drink-offering," the burning of incense, vocal and instrumental music by the priests and Levites, and the prayers of the people. On the Sabbath and feast days the sacrifice was more extensive, including bullocks and rams, with several lambs. Throughout the day the priests were busily engaged officiating in the vast number of private sacrifices made by individuals in complying with the various requirements of the Law. It was only once a year that the highpriest alone went into the Holy of Holies and offered for the nation the blood of Atonement.

The services of the Temple were under the exclusive direction of the priests. They were universally regarded in Israel as a distinct order, serving under divine appointment in the solemn capacity of offering sacrifices to Jehovah. The scribes were the teachers of the people, while the priests were their ministers at the altar of Jehovah. The scribes officiated in the synagogue, the priests in the Temple. Thus the priest,

though not in as intimate and constant touch with the people as the scribe, nevertheless held a distinct and momentous place in the life of Judaism. The limits of the order were determined by lineage. After the time of Ezra and Nehemiah only the sons of Aaron were allowed to administer the sacrifices in the Temple. Hence qualification for the priesthood was primarily a matter of natural descent. The priestly genealogies were guarded with the utmost care; seemingly, in the time of Christ, having become a matter of public record. The lineal order of the priesthood was regarded as so exceedingly sacred that strict regulations were imposed upon them in marriage, and the person of the individual priest was so sacred that special laws of ceremonial purity were applied to him.

The priest was installed in office by a special ceremony of consecration, consisting of the cleansing of the body, donning the priestly garments, and going through a series of prescribed sacrifices and ritual forms. Of course all the priests of Israel could not serve in the Temple at the same time, hence they were divided into twenty-four groups or courses. These courses were further divided into subdivisions, each subdivision having its allotted time for service.

The worship in the Temple was conducted daily by the priests, the twenty-four divisions serving in rotation, each officating a week at a time. The shift in divisions was made on the Sabbath day. During the feasts of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles all twenty-four courses of priests served simultaneously. The subdivisions of each course likewise served in rotation, usually a day at a time, though if there were more than seven subdivisions of a course two must of necessity serve on the same day. Just which individual priests of a subdivision would actually officiate in the various ministries of the worship was settled by lot. Besides officiating in the sacrifices, the priests engaged in several other ministries in the Temple, involved in the varied and intricate ceremonial life of Judaism. Then there were the care and upkeep of the Temple, and the music accompanying the Temple services, which were also included in their duties.

The support of the priests consisted of certain portions of the materials used in the Temple worship, and revenues imposed especially for their maintenance, such as the first-fruits

from the products of the soil, the first-born of the cattle, a portion of the tithe, etc.

As a subordinate class of Temple officials we find the Levites. A frequent error of the casual student is to suppose that priests and Levites were one and the same class, "priest" designating the office and "Levite" the tribe. While in the book of Deuteronomy the terms do appear interchangeable, in later developments of Temple worship a distinction was made. Only the lineal descendants of Aaron, or "sons of Zadok" as they were sometimes called, were allowed to actually officiate in the Temple sacrifices. The Levites served as attendants upon the priests, performing the more menial tasks involved in the Temple services, such as handling the victims for sacrifice, caring for the Temple equipment, etc. The order of Levites was carefully guarded, like that of the priests, only those who could prove themselves to be descendants of Levi being allowed to take part in the Temple ministrations. They too, like the priests, were divided into courses of service. The Levites were supported principally by the tithe, and were required in turn to pay a tithe of the tithes to the priests.

There was a police force maintained in the Temple, which was composed of both priests and Levites. The Levites kept order in the outer courts, while the priests were responsible for the inner courts. At the head of this police force was the "captain of the Temple," who appears in the New Testament in Ac. 4:1; 5:24, 26.

The Temple worship of New Testament times was elaborate and extensive, and many matters remain in the realm of conjecture. We have considered here only the more prominent and characteristic features, with a view to giving a general conception of the ministries daily in progress in the central sanctuary of Judaism.

The Feasts.

Jesus, in fulfillment of his human relationships, was a loyal Jew, and conscientiously observed the religious customs of Judaism. In line with this well-attested policy of his life, he was regular in his attendance upon the feasts at Jerusalem. The Gospel of John is distinguished for its attention to this phase of our Lord's ministry. The principal sacred occasions were six in number. The three primary or Mosaic feasts were

Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles. All male Israelites, after they attained thirteen years of age, were required to attend these three feasts, and parents were expected to bring them along even two years prior to that age, that they might become familiar with the routine of ceremonies. The post-Mosaic feasts were Purim and Dedication. The Day of Atonement was a fast rather than a feast. Purim and the Day of Atonement are not mentioned in the New Testament.

(1) *Purim* was the first feast of the year according to our calender. The Jews calculated time by the lunar month, and counted the beginning of the civil year at about the first of our October, while the ecclesiastical year began about the first of April. Purim was observed near the first of March. It commemorated the deliverance of the Jews from the treachery of Haman, as narrated in the book of Esther. Merrymaking and exchange of gifts characterized this festal occasion. It was observed in the typical holiday spirit, much as we celebrate Christmas. The chief feature of the ceremony was the reading of the book of Esther.

(2) *Passover* occurred on the fourteenth of the Jewish month Nisan, or about the first of our April. It was the most ancient of the Jewish feasts, and was held in high esteem. It was observed to celebrate the preservation of the Israelites from the effects of the tenth plague, and their escape from bondage. Its importance was even recognized by the Roman government of Judea, a prisoner being released on that day subject to the choice of the people. Associated with Passover, and commonly regarded as a continuation of it, was the Feast of Unleavened Bread, which began on the fifteenth of Nisan, the day following Passover, and continued for seven days. On the second day of this festival (sixteenth of Nisan) there was observed the ceremony of waving the sheaf of new grain before the Lord in the Temple, indicating that the feast was one of thanksgiving for the early harvest as well as a celebration of the deliverance from Egypt.

(3) *Pentecost* came fifty days after Passover, which usually placed it within the last two weeks of May. It was observed in celebration of the grain harvest, which at this time was about complete. The special ceremony of celebration was the presentation in the Temple of the two "wave-loaves," made of

flour from new wheat; i.e., wheat harvested that season. Pentecost was also looked upon as a celebration of the giving of the Law to Moses, since that great event occurred at about the time of year when Pentecost as observed. This feast was made famous in Christian history by the advent of the Holy Spirit (Ac. 2:1ff.).

(4) The *Day of Atonement* was observed the last of September. As indicated above, it was a fast rather than a feast. On this day the highpriest entered the Holy of Holies to offer incense and sprinkle the blood of the sacrifices, after which he sent the "scape-goat" off to the wilderness, bearing away the guilt of the nation, and had the carcasses of the sacrificial animals burned outside the city. This was an intensely solemn occasion for the Jews, and they devoted the entire day to fasting and prayer.

(5) The feast of *Tabernacles* occurred five days after the Day of Atonement, usually around the first of October. It was in commemoration of the divine protection of Israel during the wilderness wanderings, and an occasion of thanksgiving for the blessings of the year. While this feast was in progress those participating lived in improvised booths, which were constructed on the flat roofs of the houses, in the courtyards and open squares, and even along the streets and highways, though never further away from Jerusalem than a Sabbath day's journey. The two chief ceremonies were the pouring out of a libation of water, brought by a priest in a golden pitcher from the Pool of Siloam, and the "illumination of the Temple," made by four huge lamps placed for the purpose in the Women's Court. It was an occasion of joyous festivities, elaborate rites, and abundant offerings.

(6) The feast of *Dedication* was observed about the middle of December. It commemorated the restoration and rededication of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus. At this feast I and II Maccabees were read publicly.

The Sanhedrin.

This was a group of seventy-one Jewish elders, including the highpriest, who was the presiding officer. In this body was vested both legislative and judicial authority over Judea. When all Palestine was included in a single province, the

Sanhedrin had jurisdiction over the entire region, but during the time of Christ it had control only of Judea. Nevertheless its opinions were at all times respected by the Jews of all Palestine, and even those of the Diaspora. In fact, it appears that the Roman government recognized its jurisdiction in matters of relgion throughout all Judaism. In Palestinian Judaism its authority was civil and religious, in Hellenistic Judaism it was religious only. Its civil functions were principally judiciary. All civil cases within its jurisdiction could be disposed of by the Sanhedrin, and criminal cases not including capital punishment. The one exception in the matter of capital cases was that they might put to death anyone who polluted the Temple.

About the origin of the Sanhedrin there is considerable uncertainty. The Jews claimed it was established by Moses, but this is of course legendary tradition. It is the opinion of some modern scholars that it originated about the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. This position, however, must be considerably qualified before it can be accepted. But it may at least be regarded as quite probable that the municipal council of Jerusalem, which was constituted at the time of the Restoration, represents the historical forerunner of the Sanhedrin. This city council developed into the *Gerousia* of the Greek period, though doubtless considerably modified in character and enlarged in prerogatives. Then the *Gerousia* of the Greek period became the Sanhedrin of the Roman, though again somewhat altered in constitution. Thus we have as the probable stages in the history of this governing body of the Jews the Council of Elders of the Persian period, the *Gerousia* of the Greek (and Maccabean) period, and the Sanhedrin of the Roman period. But it is hardly accurate to go as far as Graetz and Ewald in regarding the municipal council of Jerusalem of the Persian period as the Sanhedrin in its incipiency. In the character in which it appears in the time of Christ the Sanhedrin was less than a century old. Its name was of Greek derivation (*sunedrion*), and meant "seated together." It is first mentioned in connection with events which occurred about 55 B. C. Its prerogatives as exercised in the N. T. period were received from the Roman government sometime shortly after 63 B. C. The period in which it flourished was from the

establishment of Roman domination to the destruction of Jerusalem, A. D. 70. However, there was not likely permitted to it any large freedom of operation during the reign of Herod the Great. After Jerusalem was destroyed the Sanhedrin was abolished. Thus the distinctive history of the Sanhedrin covered but little more than a hundred years. But during this brief period it wielded a mighty influence over Jewish affairs.

The Jewish Sects

Two distinct currents appeared in Jewish life after the Restoration. One had to do with the perpetuation of the ceremonies connected with the Temple worship, and participated in by the priests. In this realm the highpriest functioned, and gathered about himself the political interests of the nation. This was especially true after the Maccabean period, when highpriest and king were so often combined in one person. The other line of interest arose from the teaching of the Law, a work carried on by the scribes. At the beginning the two lines of interest were practically indistinguishable, but the cleavage soon appeared, and the further their history proceeded the wider became the breach. Eventually the priestly group became absorbed in political affairs, and the scribal group, impatient of politics, devoted themselves with utter abandon to the individual application of the Law. Thus the Law and the Temple, normally supposed to be mutual sharers in a common holy task, became pitted against each other in perpetual schism. It is not to be understood, however, that all priests as a class were concerned in the political interests of the nation alone, nor that all scribes were indifferent to politics. Many priests were devout students of the Law, and many scribes were intensely interested in political developments. That is, if we may anticipate distinctions which are explained later in our discussion, there were Pharisees among the priests and scribes among the Sadducees. But in the main the priestly element of the nation turned its interests in one direction while the scribal element took a different course. Out of these two divergent currents of Jewish life, with their interaction, came the sects of the New Testament period.

L *The Pharisees.* L

The Pharisees appear in the New Testament as by far the most prominent sect among the Jews, and the prominence accorded them there is but commensurate with their undoubted place in first century Judaism. All our sources give evidence that no other sect was nearly so influential or numerous. It would probably be more accurate to describe them as a fraternal order than as a sect, for they had a definitely qualified membership and certain prescribed obligations, particularly *tithing* and *ceremonial purity*. They were the unrivalled teachers and examplars of the people, because recognized by them as the true and loyal standard-bearers of traditional Israel.

The Pharisees are generally reported as having originated at about the time of the Maccabean revolt, but there are unquestionable traces of them as far back as the time of Nehemiah. For shortly after the Restoration there appear among the Jews certain individuals who are characterized as *nivdalim*, which denominated them as those who were "separated" in some unusual way from the heathen world. And the term Pharisee has the same significance. The designation *nivdalim*, however, was not the name of a sect, but only a characterization of certain individuals who were exceptionally faithful in their devotion to the Law and traditions of Israel, just as we speak of the "consecrated" in a Christian congregation. It was probably through the influence and efforts of these more devout ones that the ideal was urged upon the entire nation that they become *chasidim*, "righteous ones." But after the inauguration of Greek domination many of the Jews, either because they were enamoured of Greek culture or intimidated by Greek tyranny, deserted the ideals of their people and sought to compromise with the heathen. Hence instead of a characterization to be coveted by the whole nation, the "Chasidim" became a distinct class within the nation. These Chasidim may be regarded as the originators of the sect which the New Testament knows as the Pharisees. They came into prominence at the time of the Maccabean revolt as those most loyal to the Law and the worship of Jehovah. When the Maccabean family arose as the champions of Israel against the intruder, it was the Chasidim who rallied about them and became their chief supporters. They continued loyal to the Maccabees until

Jonathan assumed the highpriesthood, which involved a combination of the political and religious which was out of harmony with their conceptions of righteousness. Nevertheless, they remained ostensibly loyal to the Maccabean house until the open breach came between them and John Hyracanus. Thereafter they were in ill favor with the ruling house until Alexandra restored them to power, and gave to them the highest place of influence in the affairs of the Jewish nation. Josephus says of Alexandra's reign that "she was nominally ruler, but the Pharisees held the authority" (*Antq.*, 13:16:2). During the period of their ascendancy which followed, they wielded an influence over the Jewish people which was never lost. The destruction of Jerusalem A. D. 70 abolished the sect of the Sadducees, and thereby gave the Pharisees unrivalled dominance in the life of Judaism.

It was likely in the reign of Hyrcanus that they received —in derision—the name Pharisees, or "Separatists." They were so called on account of their loyalty to the traditional exclusiveness of Judaism, which they went to the extreme of applying even to members of their own race who were not consistent with their interpretation of the Law: hence their intense prejudice against "publicans and sinners" (cf. Lk. 15:1, 2). In the time of Jesus they represented the standard orthodoxy of Judaism.

By a comparison of Josephus with the New Testament we can discern quite distinctly the chief characteristics of the Pharisees. (a) The fundamental features of the sect was their extreme *legalism*. The Pharisees exhibited the acme of the development of that legalistic tendency which originated with the Restoration, and was thereafter the most potent force in the life of Judaism. They may therefore be thought of as the inner core of Jewish life. That is, Pharisaic Judaism and standard Judaism are identical conceptions. (b) They put great emphasis on special divine providence, though they also recognized man's free will. They did not deny moral responsibility. Josephus asserts the Pharisees ascribed everything to "fate" (*War*, 2:8), but likely we meet here a Jewish idea in Greek garb. What they really believed in was special providence as affecting every item of human life. (c) They believed in a future life, with the resurrection of the just. The

literal existence of angels and spirits was accepted by them. (d) They lived simply and despised delicacies. (e) Antiquity and tradition were held in high esteem by them. Josephus explains that "the Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses" (*Antq.*, 13:10:6). They were the chief conservators and exemplars of the oral tradition, "the hedge about the Law." (f) They were characterized by strong group loyalty, and kindness to one another. (g) They took little interest in politics as long as the existing government interfered in no way with their religoius pursuits. It was this trait which so frequently won for them the hearty dislike of the ruling class. However, the exegencies of historical developments eventually forced them to take stock in political affairs.

It is not just to conclude, however, that all Pharisees were but ostentatious extremists. There were certainly some of them, and in all probability a considerable number, who were diligently and sincerely seeking to promote piety, and who took an honest delight in their effort to keep in favor and fellowship with Jehovah. It was the ostentation and casuistry of the Pharisee which Jesus condemned, and not the Pharisees as a sect. There appear evidences in the Gospels of a better and really pious type of Pharisee, and such a type is certainly represented in Saul of Tarsus. The extreme type of Pharisaism entered early Christianity in the form of the Judaizing controversy.

The Sadducees.

This was the second most prominent of the Jewish sects, both as to the attention which they received in the four Gospels and their historical position in Judaism.

It is not possible to give an exact time at which the Sadducees originated, but it was probably during the later years of the Maccabean revolt. They grew up as the opposition party to the Pharisees, and were produced by the political interests in the national life of the Jews. From Hyrcanus to Alexandra they were the dominant influence in the nation, but after Alexandra they never gained the ascendancy again. In the time of Christ and his apostles they were entirely under the dominance of the Pharisees, being unable to put into actual

execution any of their liberal ideas as to conduct and worship. Their views were confined to the realm of theory. Even in the Temple, the center of their numerical strength, they were compelled to administer affairs in accord with the Pharisaic interpretation of the Law. Their suspicions of Jesus would never have brought any harm to Him had not the Pharisees joined with them. Their effort at the persecution of the early apostles were fruitless until the Pharisees became aroused. In fact, the Sadducees believed nothing with sufficient conviction to inspire any drastic course of action. They were not deeply concerned about any particular idea or ideal, and hence had no impulse to stir them to earnest contention. One who has no cause to promote can have no zeal in promotion.

As to the name Sadducee, according to its rabbinic form it appears to have been derived from the name Zadok. Consequently, a popular explanation of its origin is that it arose by reason of the fact that the priestly order, the majority of whom were Sadducees, claimed to descend from an ancient highpriest named Zadok. The priests were "sons of Zadok," and the sect which they fostered were the "Zadokites." Or, perchance, the name came from *zaddikim*, a Hebrew word meaning "the righteous," ascribed to them (or assumed by them) because of their stress upon the letter of the Old Testament law in contradistinction to the traditions of the scribes, so ardently supported by the Pharisees. This is Edersheim's opinion. (*Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, page 243). Ewald suggests that their founder was a certain Zadok who lived during the latter part of the Greek period (*op. cit.*, vol. v., pp. 275ff). The problem must remain an open question, unless further documentary evidence can be brought to light.

Our sources indicate several clearly defined characteristics of the Pharisees. (a) They were the artistocratic party. Schurer says that "the characteristic feature of the Pharisees arises from their *legal tendency*, that of the Sadducees from their *social* position. That is, their *aristocratic* standing was their fundamental characteristic. As such the sect embraced the politicians and office-holders of the nation. Politics was a matter of great concern to them, by virtue of their position in the nation's life. As mentioned above, the sect contained the great majority of the priests. Thus the Sadducees found their

chief stronghold in the Temple, while the Pharisees operated principally in the synagogues. (b) The Sadducees had a very low view of God and religion, and denied that God had any very minute concern in human events and activities. (c) They rejected the doctrine of immortality and the resurrection, and denied the existence of angels and spirts. (d) They accepted as authoritative only the written Old Testament, and opposed the rabbinic tradition held in such high regard by the Pharisees. But while theoretically repudiating tradition, in actual practice the Sadducees were compelled to conform to many of its ritual provisions. (e) They were a suspicious group: not only being wary of others, but without confidence in one another, and having no group loyalty. In the language of present day vernacular, they were incapable of "team-work." (f) Their belief in the rigidly literal application of the Law, without interpretation or modification, resulted in extreme judicial severity in their dealings with the people, which fact augmented their unpopularity. One finds nothing about the Sadducees to admire, and no positive fault to condemn. They were chiefly negative in their point of view, and appear to have been largely inoffensive in their mode of life.

The Herodians.

After the deposition of Archelaus A. D. 6, Augustus, in compliance with a petition from influential leaders in Judea, appointed a governor of that section of Palestine. To this action some of the Jews objected, and favored a perpetuation of the Herodian dynasty. When the ministry of Jesus was accumulating popularity among the masses these Herodians feared that he might precipitate a nationalistic movement which would thwart their designs for their favorites, and hence they joined the Pharisees in opposition to him. (Cf. Mt. 26:16; Mk. 3:6; 12:13.)

The Zealots.

This sect represented the opposite extreme from the Sadducees. According to Josephus (*Antq.* 18:1) their founder was one Judas of Gamala, who incited the Jews to revolt on the occasion of the taxation census of A. D. 6. That is, most of the interpreters of Josephus so take his language in the chapter cited, though some do not regard this conclusion as correct.

If it is not, then we cannot regard the Zealots as having existed at the time of Christ. Nevertheless, one turns from the chapter under question in Josephus with the distinct impression that the Jewish historian meant to trace the Zealot movement of the sixties back to Judas of Gamala, and that the movement at least finds its forerunner in the leader of the census rebellion. From his time forward the Zealots increased in numbers and influence, and also in ferocious hostility toward Rome, until they precipitated the civil war of A. D. 66. Their one aim was to throw off the Roman yoke and usher in a Messianic kingdom of a military and political nature, and to achieve this end they resorted to the rankest extremes of fanaticism.

The Essenes.

This sect is not definitely mentioned in the New Testament, though there are a few possible reflections of their teachings and customs. Lightfoot thinks that they were the origin of the heresy combatted by Paul in Colossians and Ephesians, but this is hardly probable. A few scholars have sought to prove that Jesus and John the Baptist were disciples of Essenism, but the theory has too little support to justify consideration. We receive from ancient literature but fragmentary and confused accounts of these people. The most important sources of information are Philo, Josephus and Pliny. From these accounts, with what little light we may gain from others, we gather that they composed a rigidly ascetic society, living in several isolated communities scattered about Palestine. They were especially partial to the desert region about the Dead Sea. Their origin is wrapt in obscurity, but it is likely that they came from a survival or the stricter Chasidim of Maccabean days, representing a wing of that original sect more extreme than the Pharisees, and modified by influences from Greek and oriental philosophy. Josephus was not much in error so far as the Essenes were concerned when he classed them with the "sects of philosophy" (*Antq.* 18:1.). They lived a strictly communal life, and abstained from every form of indulgence. They separated themselves from the world, and had as little contact as possible with the rest of human society. Thorough organization, great care in initiation of new members, and a rigid routine of activity preserved the distinctive character of the order. They supported themselves chiefly by agricultural pur-

suits. No individual member had property of his own, for they observed absolute community of goods. They were kind, charitable and above reproach in their conduct. Though not mentioned specifically in the New Testament, there can be no doubt that they affected deeply many currents of life which flowed about Jesus and his disciples.

The Zadokites.

More than a century before the Christian era there began in the circles of the Jewish priesthood a reform movement looking toward a religious revival and the correction of irregularities in the Temple worship. These reformers were pleased to characterize themselves as the "Sons of Zadok"—unless it be true that the name was a taunt of ridicule cast at them by their resentful colleagues. Failing at their effort of reform, these reactionaries abandoned the Temple and the Holy Land and repaired to Damascus, where they established a community under a new set of regulations, or, as they termed it, a "New Covenant." Later they returned as missionaries to their home land, where they found bitter opposition from both the Pharisees and Sadducees. They were ardent Messianists, looking for the early arrival of a "Teacher of Righteousness" who would call Israel back to his national ideals, and usher in the advent of the Messiah. They accepted all the written Word—Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa—but rejected in the main the oral tradition of the rabbis. In their private life they were rigidly self-denying and loyal to the regulations of Levitical purity. On such matters as the future life, spiritual beings, and divine providence they agreed with the Pharisees. Great stress was laid on the necessity for repentance. It is clear that the adherents of this party would be especially susceptible to the appeal of Christianity, and it is therefore not unlikely that many were won to the Christian movement. They constituted a factor, how extensive in effects we do not know, in preparing Jewish society for the acceptance of the message of Jesus. The "great company of priests that became obedient to the faith" (Acts 6:7) during the early years of the church in Jerusalem might have come from the Zadokites. Of the details of their history not a great deal is known, and their ultimate fate is lost in bscurity.

The State of Jewish Society

It is obviously impossible to distinguish sharly this subject from the matters already discussed, for the sects and institutions of Judaism were elements and factors in its society. But for convenience we select this as a title for separate treatment, and present under it those matters which have to do with the common conduct, customs, and intercourse of the people as a whole. That is, we have been considering Judaism in its various phases; we now turn our attention to the Jews as a social group, living in Palestine in the first century.

Hellenistic Influence.

In spite of the persistent efforts of the Pharisees and their sympathizers, the leaven of Hellenism had done its work in Palestine, and had introduced many elements of Graeco-Roman life and culture. From the time of Alexander, Greek influence had been encroaching on Judaism, though meeting considerable restraint in the developments of the Maccabean period. Especially were severe restrictions created by the reign of Alexandra. But Roman domination again opened the door for the inroads of Hellenism, so that its effects pervaded Palestine in the first century. Herod was especially agressive in the promotion of Greek customs. The Greek language was probably used to some extent by the majority of people, though the native tongue was still Aramaic. Latin was used by the officials connected with the Roman government, and the primitive Hebrew was used in the rabbinical schools and in parts of the synagogue services. Roman roads traversed the country in many directions, and the people were taxed or payed tolls to keep them in good condition. Much Hellenistic culture prevailed among the higher classes. Greek names were used even by the loyal Jews, as may be seen in the names of Philip and Andrew among the apostles of Christ. Greek amusements and conveniences were widely used. The architectural work of Herod's reign bore an unmistakably Hellenistic stamp. Economic affairs had been considerably affected by Graeco-Roman customs. In fact, there was no phase of Palestinian life in the first century which had escaped the effects of Hellenistic influence. Its results were traceable in everything from intellectual culture to such incidents of life as food and clothing.

Many Gentiles lived in Palestine in the New Testament period, especially in the Greek cities of Decapolis and the cities along the Mediterranean coast. At the site of Gerasa, one of the cities of the Decapolis, there have been discovered the remains of a triumphal arch, of magnificent baths and temples, of a vast theatre with a seating capacity of six thousand, and an artificial harbor for mock naval battle, all of which are distinctly Hellenistic features. (Cf. Cobern: *New Archeological Discoveries*, page 372). From the description of Josephus it appears that only two of the coastal towns, Joppa and Jamnia, remained dominantly Jewish in the first century. As a whole the Maritime plain was dominated by Hellenism, and largely devoted to the worship of Greek and Oriental deities. Nevertheless, the interior districts of Judea, Galilee and Perea had in the main a Jewish population, though in the latter two Graeco-Roman communities existed and Hellenistic influence was strong. The domains of Herod Philip in northeastern Palestine were inhabited by both Jews and Gentiles, the latter predominating. Its chief city, Caesarea-Phillippi, had been a center of Hellenistic influence for many generations, as is signified by its former name, Panias, derived from the name of the Greek god Pan. In Judea was the center of Jewish life, and there the population was almost entirely Jewish. The Jews of Galilee and Perea, since those sections had a larger Gentile constituency and were farther removed from the center of Jewish life and influence, were not nearly so rigid as the Judeans in their legalistic restrictions and national exclusiveness. In view of this fact it may be more readily understood why Jesus could do more effective work in Galilee and Perea than in Judea.

Hellenism was thus a potent factor in the world in which Jesus and His disciples moved. Yet Palestine presented some outstanding differences from the Gentile world about it. In spite of the inroads of Hellenism, at its vital religious and social heart Judaism still possessed its distinctive character. The Pharisees still maintained their rigid adherence to the Law and their traditions, while the faith and hope of historic Israel were still alive in the heart of the great majority of the Jewish masses. Women were treated with far more consideration than in the Roman world, and the sanctity of the home—a

thing almost unknown among their pagan contemporaries—was held in high regard among the Jews. Illegal unions and polygamy were exceedingly rare, though divorce was all too common. Altogether, Palestinian Judaism had been remarkably successful in resisting the demoralizing tendencies of the pagan life of its day.

Civil Organization.

The conditions and changes in civil affairs have already appeared in our investigation of the history of Judaism. In the first century the government was in the hands of a procurator or vassal king, who ruled as the representative of Rome, and was expected to utilize as far as possible the existing forms of civil administration. It is these existing modes of government which we are now to consider.

(1) *Palestinian Government In General.* From far back in Old Testament times the government of Palestine was essentially municipal. That is, the civil administration of the country was committed to the larger towns and cities. The largest municipality in a district had a council of elders who administered all branches of civil government, whether legislative, judicial or executive. This mode of supervision was in general continued during the Roman period. Of course the entire system was under the general control of Roman law and Roman officials, but Rome gave to the local administration very large liberty in the direction of civil affairs. Under the supervision of the council of elders, and doubtless selected from their number, were "judges," who presided in trials, and "officers," who looked after the executive side of civil affairs. Frequent reflections of these features of government appear in the New Testament.

(2) *The Government of Judea.* The civil organization of Judea followed the same general lines found in other parts of Palestine, but some particular features were sufficiently different to warrant separate treatment. Jerusalem was the dominant municipality, or provincial capital, functioning as the general center of control, issuing laws, trying cases, and collecting taxes. But for greater convenience and efficiency in administration, the province of Judea was divided into ten districts, or toparchies. In a prominent municipality of each toparchy there was a council or local sanhedrin which served

as a center of control, representing and acting in subordination to the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem.

(3) *Independent Municipalities.* Distributed throughout Palestine there was a considerable number of towns which have been denominated "free cities," such as Ascalon, Caesarea, Ptolemais, Samaria (Sebaste), Scythopolis, etc. These cities, with the country districts immediately surrounding them, formed independent municipal communities. The majority of them had secured their most extensive prerogatives of self-government during the declining years of Syrian rule. It appears that all of those on the coast except Ascalon and Ptolemais had been forced to submit to Judean rule by Alexander Janneaus, but were liberated again by Pompey in 63 B. C. In dealing with these free cities the Romans had followed their wise policy of adapting their own government to that already in existence, or which the conquered peoples preferred. The form of government in these independent municipalities, and the extent of their liberties, varied considerably, but in general it may be said that they were largely, though not entirely, exempted from imperial taxation, had their own administration carried on by representatives from the free citizens of the municipal community, and possessed special privileges and distinctions granted by Rome. However, they were expected to recognize the general supervision of the provincial governor, and in some instances the head of the provincial government appointed a representative to reside in the free city and have final oversight of affairs. The word "free" as applied to these cities must be taken with considerable qualification. They were nevertheless independent of the prevailing system of Palestinian government.

Economic Life.

The economic status of Palestine in the first century was far from ideal. As one of its chief embarassments the country was crowded with an excessive population. Even the permanent Jewish inhabitants were more than the land could adequately support, and when we add to these the Gentile immigrants, the Roman officials and military forces, and the thousands of pilgrims gathering at Jerusalem for the feasts

three times each year, if not more often, it is obvious that there existed a serious economic problem in sustaining the proper balance between production and consumption. Accentuating this difficulty of over-population was the Jewish aversion to engaging in any sort of trade relations with the outside heathen world, or to bartering and exchange under any conditions, which of necessity presented a serious deterrent to economic progress. The land, on an average, was of only ordinary fertility, and droughts were of frequent occurrence.

The vast building enterprises of Herod had left a huge financial burden on the civil government. This economic handicap presented an embarassing difficulty to Archelaus, and augmented the opposition to his reign. After Archelaus was deposed the people hoped that direct Roman rule would give them the much desired relief from taxation, but in this they were disappointed, for with the coming of a procurator they were reqiured to pay revenue to Rome. And in addition to the regular tax there were various other imposts, customs, tariffs, tolls, etc., which were exacted of them. So much for their civil taxation, yet there was over and above all this the demands for religious revenues, the enormous contributions required by the Law for the administration of the Temple and the support of its elaborate services. And still we must add the revenues necessary to support the local synagogue. This amazing accumulation of assessments made the burden of taxation intolerable, and an intensely acute question.

In the light of such conditions we may easily vizualize the state of economic distress. Poverty prevailed, taxation increased, and dissatisfaction consequently grew apace. The fitful outbursts of robbery and insurrection which characterized this period likely grew out of this stress of economic affairs. It also probably accounts for the ease with which the crowds in Jerusalem could be aroused to ungovernable fury and mob violence, as when they would so readily seek to stone Jesus (Jno. 8:59; 10:31), or thronged Pilate demanding the execution of Jesus (Mt. 27:20), or pounced upon Paul when he was falsely accused of bringing a Gentile into the Temple sanctuary (Acts 21:27 ff.). In fact, the general state of unrest and agitation which prevailed throughout Palestinian Judaism in the first century, and culminated in the revolt of A. D. 66,

was probably due more largely to material destitution than has generally been recognized.

It is remarkable how Jesus prevented these tense economic conditions from affecting to any appreciable extent the determining issues of his ministry. He deliberately declined to yield to the popular Messianic demands, which were undoubtedly instigated to a considerable degree by those problems of support. It was definitely expected of the Messiah, when he should come, that he would "fill the hungry with good things" (Lk. 1:53). But Jesus addressed himself primarily to spiritual rather than physical need. He fed hungry hearts rather than hungry stomachs. His gospel was by no means an economic gospel; nor can it be characterized in general as a social gospel; primarily and essentially the gospel which Jesus proclaimed was an ethical and religious gospel. Yet it would be a serious mistake to assume that the economic conditions had no relation to the life and teaching of Jesus. He was in the midst of these conditions every day of his life, and the people to whom he ministered were the victims of this distressful state of affairs; consequently, much of what he said and did can not be properly understood without full consideration being given to these economic facts. In the light of this situation we may feel more forcibly the tender strain of sympathy in that compassionate appeal: "Come unto me all ye that labor and are laden, and I will give you rest" (Mt. 11:28).

Palestine of the first century continued very largely in their old-time pursuits of farming, grape-raising, sheep-raising, and fishing. This would seem to indicate that the majority of the population was rural. But authorities differ on this point. Josephus unquestionably represents the bulk of the population as urban, but many evidences are found which appear to prove him in error. It may be regarded as fairly certain that the great majority were rural in interests, but many of those who secured their living from the country had their homes in the villages or towns. This could conceivably have thrown the balance on the side of urban population, and in some measure have justified the situation as represented by Josephus. At any rate, most of the people lived off of small tracts of land which they owned and cultivated themselves. There was little need of hired labor, though it could be easily secured, usually

at the rate of a Roman *denarius* (about twenty cents) a day. Slave labor was also used, but generally by those who had large estates. Slaves were much better treated by the Jews than by the Romans . They were placed under the supervision of a "house-manager" (Gk. *oikonomos*), commonly called a steward. The products of their labor could be marketed very cheap, which caused unfavorable competition for the small farmer.

We have noted above that commercial progress in Palestine was seriously restrained by the traditional ban on barter and exchange and usury, which was still maintained by the more devout and loyal Jews. The rabbis, in regulating commerce, had drafted laws which were extremely rigid and minute. But the growth of towns and cities made the growth of commercial enterprise inevitable. There were of necessity some commodities imported, but imports were limited largely to liberal aristocrats and foreigners, for the ideal of the Jew was to live strictly off the products of his own land, and Gentile products would be regarded as unclean by the strict Jew. Imports were confined to wood and metal products, and articles of luxury for the well-to-do. Export trade was more extensive, but consisted almost entirely of natural products. Fish was shipped to Antioch, Alexandria and Rome. There was also more or less of export trade in oil, wool, wheat, balsam, honey and figs.

Professional life was limited among the Jews. The one widely extensive profession was that of rabbi, if profession it may be called, for many rabbis followed some trade or secular pursuit for a livelihood, while devoting all the time possible to the study and teaching of the law. The professions of law and medicine, which were widely practiced in the Graeco-Roman world, had little place in the life of Palestinian Jews. They held manual labor in very high esteem, and every Jewish boy was expected to learn some trade. Rabbinic tradition declared that "whoever does not teach his son a trade is as if he brought him up to be a robber."

We have already seen that certainly much of the population of Palestine lived in towns and villages. The former were distinguished from the latter by the fact that they were walled in and, in most instances, had a synagogue. Where the highway approached the town the wall was penetrated by a gate,

which could be closed and made fast with bars and bolts. Just within the gate there was usually a large open square, where the people congregated for trade and social intercourse. As Jesus went on his teaching tours through the towns and villages of Galilee, it is probable that he frequently addressed the assembled people in these open squares.

The houses of the masses were low and flat-roofed, built of material composed of mud and straw and baked in the sun, while the houses of the wealthy were taller, consisting frequently of two or three stories, and built of brick or stone. Windows were made of grating or lattice-work, and opened usually on the street or highway. The door-shutters hung on wooden hinges and were made secure by crude wooden bolts and keys. Often on the roof of a house a guest-chamber was constructed, called the "upper room."

Sanitary and police provisions were of a remarkably high order.

Home and Education.

It is in their family life that the Jews shine out most brightly in contrast with the Gentile world about them. Most of the homes were characterized by systematic religious observance, such as the Sabbath, prayers, ceremonial ablutions, and the rite of circumcision. The offering of thanks at each meal is assumed as a universal custom. The relations between parents and children were excellent. The parents treated the children with great consideration, and the children reciprocated with honor and kindness. A prominent characteristic of Jewish life was deep reverence for old age, whether parents or strangers.

An important feature of Palestinian home life was the family meal. Here the fellowship of the household found its largest expression. The eating of a meal possessed for the Jew a large degree of religious sanctity, and included religious elements in the form of two blessings, one for the meat and another for the drinks. At formal meals they reclined, but at informal meals they sat at the table. The food consisted chiefly of mutton, veal, or fish, with bread, vegetables and fruit. As a beverage, diluted wine was used. The food restrictions provided in the Law were carefully observed.

Great stress was laid upon the education of children. Josephus declares with pride, "We take the most pains of all with the instruction of children" (*Apion* 1:12). Philo bears testimony to the same fact, saying that his people "were from their swaddling clothes, even before being taught either the sacred laws of the unwritten customs, trained by their parents, teachers and instructors to recognize God as Father and as Maker of the world" (*Legat. ad Cajum*, sec. 16.) The instruction, however, was devoted chiefly to boys, less attention being devoted to the education of girls. The teaching was begun in the home by parents, and continued in the synagogue by scribes. At the age of five they began to teach the child the Hebrew Bible, beginning, not with Genesis, as would be normally expected, but with Leviticus, because of the importance of Leviticus in the study of the Law. After completing Leviticus the child studied the rest of the Pentateauch, then at ten years he might be advanced into the Mishna, and finally, if he desired still more advanced learning, he studied the Talmud. For special training as a rabbi, schools were provided in Jerusalem.

Thus we see that domestic life in Palestine was clean, energetic, cultured and religious. This picture presents a decided contrast with that which we are later to contemplate in the Graeco-Roman world. And these pleasant home conditions tended to offset the effects of the economic distress.

Social Distinctions.

In first century Palestine social distinctions were very rigid. There were five rather clearly marked classes. (*a*) There was an aristocracy consisting of the priestly group, with the Sadducees and their sympathizers. This class also included royalty and high civil officials. (*b*) The Pharisees and their followers composed a religious caste, conspicuous for their arrogance and exclusiveness. (*c*) The chief ocmponent of Palestinian society consisted of a great middle class, the masses of Jewish peasantry, who respected the Pharisees and their views but were not eager to observe all their minute exactions. These honest, devout common people, though failing of Pharisaic punctilousness, were intensely concerned in the religion of Jehovah and His sovereignty among His people, and especially in the coming of the Messiah. It was this great

class of practical religionists which furnished the seed-bed of Christianity. They were represented in such characters as Simeon and Anna, the parents of Jesus, and the greater part of the multitudes who waited on the ministry of our Lord. The fourth and fifth classes constituted the nether strata of Jewish society. They were (*d*) the "publicans"—hirelings of the Roman government, and "sinners"—those who, in the adject hopelessness of their poverty and oppression cared little for traditions of Israel and less for the restrictions of rabbinic lore; and but little lower than the last-mentioned class were (*e*) the slaves.

Between the first two classes, embracing the Sadducees and the Pharisees, and the last three, including the common people, the publicans and "sinners," and the slaves, all of whom were called by the Pharisees "the people of the land," there was such a wide breach of difference that many scholars are led to divide Jewish society into only two classes. We believe it to be more accurate, however, to distinguish the five as given here. To summarize the, Palestinian society was divided into an upper stratum composed of two classes, the Sadduciac aristocrats and the Pharisaic ecclesiastics, with their following; and a lower stratum composed of three classes, the common people, the publicans and "sinners," and the salves. There were other isolated groups, such as the Roman soldiers, Gentile traders and exploiters, Roman officials, etc., which could hardly be regarded as social classes, but were rather distinct circles of life outside Palestinian society.

The People and the Law.

We have already disclosed several glimpses of the effect of the Law upon the lives of the common people, but our discussion of Jewish social life is not complete until we have given a more intimate and detailed view of this situation. It was one of the pre-eminent elements of Jewish society of the first century, and an important feature in the historical background of the New Testament.

It has already been quite clearly seen in our sketch of the history of Judaism that Jewish life as a distinct development in the Restoration was established upon a high regard for and strict observance of the Law. As seen in its historical per-

spective, Law observance was practically a synonym of Judaism. A serious retrograde movement was in progress during the Greek period, particularly under late Egyptian and Syrian supremacy, but the Law was re-instated in its high place of influence in the life of the Jews by the Maccabean revolt. The successors of the Maccabeans, however, showed what was to the devout among the people a shocking indifference to the observance of the Law. But the last of the Asmoneans, Queen Alexandra, restored the Law to its pristine power and gave its ardent protagonists, the Pharisees, the supreme positions of civil and religious authority under her rule. Under her patronage the dominance of the Law became so fully established that its rigid hold upon Jewish life and conscience, particularly in Palestine, was not released until rudely and summarily broken by the mailed fist of Roman retribution. And even then its sway persisted in the Diaspora. An adequate comprehension of New Testament life is entirely conditioned upon a proper understanding of this supreme position of the Law.

(1) *Legal Bondage.* The conditions of Jewish life relative to the Law are vividly portrayed in the language of our Savior: "they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders" (Mt. 23:4; Lk. 11:46). Such the rabbinic interpretation of the Law had become for the moral and religious life of the people. There was a legal regulation at every turn, so that the most minute details of life might not be undertaken without dread of forgetting or violating some precept of the Law. The picture of Jewish legalism which is drawn in the Gospels is unquestionably accurate. The minute legal regulations of the Pharisees "were made the substitutes for real piety and morality by the majority; and to tender consciences they were an intolerable burden, for it was scarcely possible to move a step or lift a finger without the danger of sinning against one or other of them" (Stalker: *Life of Christ*, page 95). Yet there were but five phases of conduct to which the Law applied; viz., Sabbath observance, food laws, laws pertaining to tithes and offerings, laws regulating obligations and relations of the sexes, and laws relative to cleanness and uncleanness. This fact has led some scholars to question whether in reality legal regulations were the intol-

erable burden upon the devout Jew that it has been supposed they were, but when we consider the vast number of details in which these five groups of regulations were applied, and the fact that they embrace practically all the ordinary routine of life, the conclusion remains inescapable that the Jew in the New Testament period found some legal restraint confronting him in nearly every activity of life. For the earnest and devout soul, who desired to live well-pleasing to Jehovah, life under the Law must have presented an unbearable strain. Indeed, when the Law came, with its labyrinth of Pharisaic interpretation, one died; for life could no longer hold much of attraction or inspiration (cf. Rom. 7:9). The observance of legal regulations looked only to the hope of personal or national reward; the violation of the minutest restriction was believed to entail a divine penalty. Rigteousness as a vital principle and a means of happiness and progress in life was unknown. Retribution was the sole sanction of the Law. Under such conditions it is not strange that the masses of the people despaired of measuring up to Pharisaic punctiliousness.

That the bonds of the Law might be kept ever present to the consciousness of the individual, certain reminders had been adopted. For this purpose tassels of a prescribed texture were worn on the outer garment of the clothing, signs were placed about the home, and "phylacteries" were worn on the head and the left arm. These mementoes kept before the Jew the endless details of legalism. Sabbath regulations extended to the lighting of fires, the cooking of food, and even the drinking of water. As to writing on the Sabbath, rabbinic tradition prescribed that: "He who writes two letters with his right or his left hand, whether of one kind or of two kinds, as also if they are written with different ink or are of different languages, is guilty." The casuistry of such interpretation is obviously absurd. It affected the ordinances of cleanness and uncleanness, the regulations of social life, and even the offering of prayer and thanksgiving. If one ignored entirely these minute enactments of the Law he was branded as a "sinner," and regarded as estranged from Jehovah.

(2) *Rabbinic Domination.* This tyranny of the letter of the Law and its traditional interpretation gave a supreme place

of regard to the rabbis, the official teachers of the Law. At the time of the great revival under Ezra, the priests were regarded as the rightful custodians of the Law, and continued to serve in this capacity for a long time after. But gradually representatives of the laity came to devote themselves to the study and teaching of the Law as a profession, until it came to be viewed as the task of a specialist. As Hellenism made its encroachment the majority of the priests accepted the new culture, and were considered as apostates from the Law and covenants of Israel. In consequence the people came to rely exclusively upon the scribes as their religious guides. This development in the life of Judaism was mature long before New Testament times.

The veneration in which this class were held found no rival in all the life of Israel. No accommodation was denied them, no request was allowed to pass unheeded. In the highest sense, the rabbi was regarded as the chosen representative of Jehovah and His will. The priest in the Temple at Jerusalem was looked upon with respect, but this attached to his office more than to his person, and besides, the priest but rarely came into religious communication with the people. "The near and living institution was not the Temple, but the Synagogue, at once a house of prayer and of study; the near and important officials were not the priests, but the scribes, the rabbis, the teachers of the Law" (Montefiore: Peake's *Commentary on the Bible,* page 620). The rabbi was present at all times, a guide in the most minute details of life, the source of enlightenment in every problem, the last appeal in every mooted question. Therefore his hold upon the interest and reverence of the people was unequalled. And his influence was used in tightening the bonds of the Law.

But this legalistic bondage is not to be thought of as wholly evil in results. The motive was generally selfish and the performance mechanical, yet it did result in a state of moral rectitude which elevated Jewish life far above the average level of the Gentile conduct contemporaneous with it. And these conditions prevailed chiefly in Palestine. It is to be doubted that Hellenistic Judaism was thus casuistic and mechanical in observing the Law, at least to any considerable extent.

Burial Rites.

Death among the Jews was a matter of tragic import, and its consequent grief was relieved by but scant consolation, for views of life beyond the grave were vague and none too certain. No one brought to the bereaved any definite and positive message of comfort, such as the sustaining hope of Christian faith. There were formal acts of grief required by current proprieties, such as rending the outer garment, abstaining from food, etc. Hired mourners were employed, being generally women, though men also sometimes served in such capacity. Someone competent for the task was usually secured to deliver a funeral oration, which might take place at the home, on the way to the burial, or at the grave. The body, which had been carefully washed, annointed, and wrapped in burial clothes, was carried to the place of interment on an open bier, borne by friends who relieved one another from time to time as they proceeded. At the intervals when the change of pall-bearers took place there were great demonstrations of grief. In the procession the funeral orator walked in the lead, and in Galilee the brier was preceded by the hired mourners, while in Judea they followed. Behind the bier and mourners came the family and friends. The body was laid to rest in a cemetery, or, if means admitted, in a private tomb hewn out of rock.

The Messianic Hope

The two fundamental and most potent factors in the religious consciousness of Israel were their sense of divine selection as the special representatives of Jehovah, and their belief that Jehovah gave the Law as the means for the perpetuation of this covenant relation. The latter belief gave rise to the synagogue, the rabbi, and the oral tradition, which we have already considered. The former was the basis of the Messianic hope. They knew themselves to be God's chosen race, the special objects of His care and favor: and yet their history gave grim and undeniable evidence that the ideals of this relation had never been realized. As a result the eyes of Israel were trained ever more and more toward the future. This extension of faith into the future finds its earliest manifestation in the Old Testament prophets, but its most definite expression is given through the literature of Judaism, wherein we may clearly trace this ever brightening hope.

Development of the Messianic Hope.

That which is usually denominated the Messianic hope of Judaism was originally and essentially the expectation of a future golden age for Israel, rather than the definite conception of an individual deliverer who was to come. The earliest records we have of Hebrew religious consciousness reveal a conviction that the people of Israel were ordained to a grand destiny which would bring all nations under their sway and make them the pre-eminent power of all the earth. This view is to be clearly seen as early as Gen. 12:1-3, and recurs at frequent intervals throughout the oldest literature. In the development of the prophetic view this came to include the sovereignty of Jehovah over all nations and the salvation of the righteous among the Gentiles. At a very early period in the life of Israel this national hope becomes personified, if not a person, in a great individual representative of Jehovah, who is to appear as the religious leader and teacher of Israel. In some of the later prophets and Psalms this personal conception becomes distinct and unquestionable. A personal Messiah, however, is still but rarely found, some even of the latest prophets presenting the Messianic age and its glories without any definite conception of the mediatorial personality who is to be its central figure. That this hope persisted in and after the Restoration, we may certainly with safety conclude, and it is entirely possible that many still thought of the Messianic era as the achievement of a personal Messiah. Such an expectation is amply clear in the first eight chapters of Zechariah (cf. 3:8; 6:12, 13). "But from the little * * * * evidence that remains to us it would seem that in the period between the captivity and the rise of the Maceabees the Messianic hope resolved itself into vague anticipations of a glorious and happy future, in which the presence of God would be more manifest, but of which a Messiah would form no essential feature." (Drummond: *The Jewish Messiah,* page 199). Again in later Judaism there reappears, more clearly and definitely conceived than ever before, the idea of a personal Messiah as a great, divinely appointed religious leader who should become the national champion against Israel's foes. But even in this period views differed widely as to the nature and policies of this national champion, and in the minds of

some Israel's deliverance and triumph continued to be looked upon as the direct accomplishment of Jehovah Himself.

In Israel the idea of religious leadership gathered about four cardinal conceptions. All authority was ultimately based in the will of Jehovah, but the will of Jehovah might be mediated through certain personal instrumentalities approved by Him. This personal representative might be a *prophet* who spoke directly from Jehovah, a *priest* who approached Jehovah on behalf of the people, an *angel* sent on some special mission of warning, promise or instruction, or a *king* who was selected under Jehovah's direction to guide the affairs of Israel. The personal aspect of the Messianic hope took form in all four of these conceptions.

(1) *The Messianic Prophet.* The prediction of Malachi that Elijah the prophet should be sent to prepare the way for the Messiah (Mal. 3:1; 4:5) was taken by some to refer, not to the forerunner, but to the Messiah himself. It is probable that the idea of a prophetic Messiah was also encouraged by Deut. 18:15, "Jehovah thy God shall raise up unto thee a prophet, from the midst of thee, of thy bretheren, like unto me." (Cf. Williams: *Ev. of N. T. Christology,* page 37). This led to the expectation that God would bring in the Golden Age for Israel in the person of a great prophet who would fulfill the Messianic role. Such an expectation unquestionably appears in I Maccabees (4:46, 5:16), and survived into New Testament times, as is evident from the current opinions concerning Jesus described in Mt. 16:14 and in the questions which the delegation from Jerusalem asked John the Baptist (Jn. 1:21). In fact, it is obvious that the ministry of the Baptist appealed with peculiar force to such an expectation. It is now generally accepted as a historical fact that many of the disciples of John the Baptist refused to abandon their belief in him as the true Messiah, and perpetuated into the second century a sect in which John's Messiahship was preached in opposition to that of Jesus. This conception must have been based upon the expectation of a Messianic prophet, for John could hardly have been thought of in any other category. This aspect of the Messianic hope was quite probably sustained and perpetuated by the yearning in the hearts of the more spiritual for a return of the spirit of prophecy. This prophetic hope,

however, seems not to have been very prevalent. The Samaritans were expecting a prophetic Messiah, but the Jews had in the main other expectations.

(2) *The Messianic Priest.* The revival of hope in the heart of Israel engendered by the Maccabean heroes directed the expectations of the people toward the tribe of Levi. When the offices of prince and highpriest were combined in Simon, an exceptional impetus was given to the development of such a hope. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,* in the earlier portions, which were composed within the Maccabean period, look for a priestly Messiah from the tribe of Levi, but later additions reflect the more general view that the Messiah will be from Judah. Probable traces of such a view are found in other literature of pre-Christian origin, but beyond the Maccabean period it seems to have found very limited acceptance.

(3) *The Supernatural Messiah.* As earthly powers continued to oppress, and the dissatisfaction of Judaism with the present world order increased in its intensity, it was inevitable that the conception of the Messiah should become more and more transcendent. Israel had never found any abiding relief from human sources, but on the contrary perpetually recurring disappointments in human leaders as they arose and shone forth in resplendent promise for a season, but to degenerate and decline, and leave the nation in a worse plight than before. Hence many of the better minds despaired of human deliverance, even under divine appointment and leadership. Intervention must surely come from heaven, and not from earth. Hence the Messiah was conceived of as an angelic being, preexistent and supramundane in character, who would be sent from heaven by Jehovah to deliver his people from their oppression.

(4) *The Messianic King.* By far the most prevalent view of the Messiah was as a warrior prince, who should appear as a political champion and military hero to rally to his standard the Jews from every nation and lead them in a victorious onslaught against their enemies. Heathen oppressors would be annihilated and God's elect race would become the world's conquerors. In this view the Messiah was expected to be the descendant of David. "That the future ruler should be thought of as the descendant of David was only natural.

David had been the great hero-king of the united tribes, and his line had proved so much more stable than that of Jeroboam" (Rose: *Antecedents of Christianity*, page 61).

This conception of a royal Davidic Messiah gained ascendency in the popular mind of Judaism especially in times when heathen domination became most obnoxious and tyrannical, as in the period of Syrian persecution and during the two centuries of Roman rule. During such times the hope of the nation quite naturally turned to a warrior champion. It appears from the New Testament records (Mt. 21:9, 15; 22:42; Mk. 12:35; Lk. 20:41; etc.) that this was the standard view in Jesus' day, and there are numerous evidences from other sources which corroborate the view in the Gospels. It had its genesis in the Old Testament prophets, where the restoration of the Davidic line is explicitly predicted (cf. Isa. 9:7; 11:1; Jer. 23:5, 6). It appears in first Maccabees (2:57), and is quite specifically set forth in the Psalms of Solomon (cf. especially 17:5, 23). Undoubted traces of the conception appear elsewhere in the literature of Judaism (cf. e.g., 4 Ezra 12:32). The rabbinic Targums on Isa. 11:1; 14:29; etc. bear witness to this idea. It is certain that the current view at the time of Christ was that the Messiah would be a regal figure and of the lineage of David. Following New Testament times the expectation of a Davidic prince and warrior continued for several generations as the predominating Messianic conception of Juadism, probably modified slightly at some points by Christian influence.

Thus the view of Israel's deliverer varied from the anticipation of a purely political potentate, who, by military force, would secure national independence and subdue the enemies of Israel, to a great apocalyptic being who would make his advent from heaven, accompanied by supernatural manifestations and destroying his enemies by supernatural means. The latter view was held by only the best minds, but is for that very reason the one most widely expressed in the literature of the times. The former was the popular conception. However, even the popular view seems to have expected the origin of the Messiah to be shrouded in mystery (cf. Jno. 7:21) and his mission to be attested by supernatural demonstration (cf. Mt. 12:38; Jno. 7:31).

Basal Characteristics of the Messianic Hope.

Notwithstanding the varieties of view in the details of the conception, there were at least three basal elements which belonged to the essential character of the Messianic idea, and were therefore the common possession of practically all of Judaism. It is here that we discover the heart of the matter, and in these essentials of the doctrine the student can secure an intelligent and comprehensive grasp of the true character of the Messianic hope.

(1) *A Special Interposition of Divine Power.* This hope of the Jews found its ultimate basis in their faith that Jehovah had set them apart as a peculiar and choice possession, and had made with them His covenant that He would never repudiate His intimate relation with them. Hence they expected that in His own time God would interpose, and manifest Himself in some spectacular fashion as the Deliverer of Israel. The standard view was that this divine interposition would be accomplished through an intermediate agency, the Messiah whom Jehovah had chosen. But another view, especially characteristic of the Sibylline Oracles, the Book of Jubilees, and the Assumption of Moses, was that God Himself, without any intermediate agency, would bring about the triumph of Israel. Under this view the glorified kingdom of Israel would not be a Messianic monarchy, but a theocracy. This was the ideal of the Zealot movement.

(2) *Supreme Elevation of the Nation of Israel.* The divine choice of Israel was to the end that Jehovah might have a people who would establish His name in all the earth and make His Law supreme. Therefore, the national interests of Israel were one with the cause of Jehovah. To oppose or oppress the chosen people meant to defy Jehovah and to disdain His righteous demands. This status of the Hebrew race constituted them the rightful objects of special respect by the surrounding nations. They were God's specially chosen representatives among the nations, and considered that they should be treated as such. But, on the contrary, they were despised by the Gentiles, ruthlessly seized and consigned to bondage by one despotic conqueror after another, to be buffetted and maltreated in the most humiliating fashion. To the devout Jewish religionist this could only mean that Jehovah was

keenly incensed at the heathen nations, and regarded them as His own defiant enemies. The coming of the Messianic age must in the very nature of the case bring the consummate destruction of the incorrigible and the humble submission of those who yielded and repented. Even those who had known Israel, and consequently could not be guilty of conscious defiance of Jehovah, must nevertheless become subject to the chosen nation (cf. 2 Baruch 72:5). The hostile powers were expected to make a final desparate and concerted effort to resist the power of Jehovah and His elect, only to be overthrown and destroyed. Israel was to become victorious over all her enemies, with all other heathen powers, the Diaspora was to return, and the reunited and renovated nation would reign in triumph and blessedness.

In its earlier stages the Messianic hope seems to have been purely national, with little interest in the ultimate fate of the Gentile world. The destiny of Israel was regarded as Jehovah's only concern. But as the conception of God enlarged, and the unity of the human race was more clearly perceived, and Israel's relations to the nations of the earth were multiplied, the view became more and more universalized. And the doctrine took on also an individual application. Many of these who belonged by race to Israel had proved themselves traitors to the sacred interests of the nation. These could not be expected to share in the glories of the Messianic Age. Hence there must be an elect remnant who would participate in the ultimate triumph of Jehovah and the righteous. On the basis of germinal teachings in the Old Testament there arose with this individualistic conception the ideas of resurrection and judgment, rewards and punishment. Around these views there was woven an elaborate eschatology, the fundamentals of which were standard Jewish doctrine in New Testament times and furnished a basis for the doctrines and hopes of the Christian religion.

But notwithstanding this development of the universal individual application of the Messianic hope, Israel as a nation remained supreme in the anticipations of the future. The nations of earth were to be but subordinate recipients in the blessings of the new age. The influence of this view is relected even in the writings of Paul (e.g., Rom. 11:1). The basal

conception of the Messiah was that he should be Jehovah's representative to, and in the interest of, His chosen people.

(3) *Subjection of the World to the Rule of Jehovah and His Anointed.* This hope for the supremacy of Israel should not be regarded as purely selfish. The devout Jew believed that it would be infinitely the best for the peoples of earth to be subject to the absolute dominion of Israel, for such would mean the complete sovereignty of God. Of course the penalty of utter destruction, or eternal punishment in Gehenna, would be inflicted upon a great host of the impenitent, but for those who were preserved the change of conditions would be a gracious blessing. The Messiah would reign in glory and beneficence, and peace and plenty would prevail in all the earth. The Jew believed, and rightly, that the unhindered sovereignty of God's will would bring the highest possible state of human happiness. This was to be the chief accomplishment of the Messianic age. The common cravings of human nature marred this ideal to some extent, but it is nothing short of remarkable how little the animal appetites influenced the Jewish anticipations of their Golden Age. It was expected to be an era of transcendent righteousness, when the will and Law of Jehovah would hold unchallenged sway, and the Messiah would promote and enforce the highest principles of right living.

At the dawn of the Christian era no other element held a larger place in Jewish life at large than this Messianic expectation. Whatever of hope the future contained was associated with it. It was the vital center of Jewish religion, and was productive of a far more spiritual type of religious experience than could have been otherwise possible in the midst of Pharisaic formalism. It was the preserving salt of Jewish religious life, and did more than any other historical cause in preparing an audience for Jesus. Yet it is also true that the life of first century Juadism contained no more violent stumulus to the inflamable passions of racial hatred and religious prejudice than this very Messianic expectation. It became the cause of a series of disturbances, and was ever ready to break out into violence. One of the grand spectacles of history was the way Jesus utilized the better elements in this factor of Jewish life, and yet restrained its more extreme

demonstrations. Unsympathetic critics have emphasized this excitable phase of the Messianic hope, to the neglect of its valuable features, and thus made it to appear as a reprehensible passion and unreasoning illusion. But while frankly admitting the fanatical rage of self-deluded pseudo-Messiahs and conniving Zealots, yet there are two other products of the Messianic hope which far more than atone for its extreme demonstrations. These are, first, the rich and noble religious experience which was constantly associated with it and dependent upon it in the lives of the sanely devout, and, second, and infinitely superior, the ministry and achievement of that One Who was the real fulfillment of the Messianic hope, if it be admitted that such fulfillment has ever been or is ever to be.

CHAPTER V.

THE LITERATURE OF JUDAISM

We are dealing in this chapter with the literary activity of the Jewish people after the time of Ezra down to and including the first century of the Christian era. The literary products of the Jews which belong to this period are commonly referred to under the broad, general designation of "Jewish Literature." But the use of this title logically includes the New Testament along with other Jewish writings. Hence to denote Jewish literature exclusive of the New Testament requires a more restricted designation. The title *Literature of Judaism* exactly serves the purpose, for two reasons: (1) This literature is the surviving expression of that type of life in the first and second centuries B. C. and A. D. universally accepted under the name "Judaism." (2) This term necessarily excludes the New Testament, for however intimate one may regard the connection to be between first century Christianity and Judaism, he certainly would not consider the New Testament as embraced in the term "Literature of Judaism."

It is the popular impression that after the writing of Malachi no worthy literary effort was made by the chosen people of Jehovah until the apostles of Jesus began to pen the books of the New Testament. This is far from the facts. Some of the finest products of Hebrew religious zeal belong to the period between the Testaments and contemporaneous with the New Testament. There were historical and intrinsic reasons for their not being included in the Old Testament, but their general character as religious literature is in some instances superlative. Many of these books are embraced in the canon of Roman Catholicism and compose what is known as the Apocrypha. They were excluded from the Protestant canon at the time of the Reformation, the Protestant leaders accepting the original Hebrew canon of the Old Testament, including 39 books. Some representatives of the Reformation attached value to the Apocrypha as means of edification, though they did not regard them as authoritative scripture and valid sources of doctrine. Their edificatory value is indeed worthy of consideration, but the chief point of their value to

us is the light which they throw upon the preparation of Judaism for the coming of Christ.

Another false conception which has gained wide prevalence is the idea that the interbiblical period marked a process of constant decline in the life and character of the Jews. When the facts are known the religious and moral development of Israel really reached its highest level at about the second century before Christ. The Jews were never so faithful to the Law during the period covered by the Old Testament as they were in the interbiblical times. Their reverence for the institutions which Jehovah had established among them found its highest development at this stage of their history. The great messages of the prophets relative to the divine mission and promised hope of Israel, though they fell on practically unheeding ears at the time of their utterance, found full and splendid fruition in this period. In short, the national and spiritual ideals of the Old Testament for Israel most nearly approached realization two to four centuries after the Old Testament period. The highest state of religious development which the Hebrew race had known prevailed at the time when the world's Redeemer was born of a Jewish maiden. This thrilling and significant fact is discovered by a careful study and comparison of the literary products of Judaism.

Nothing better can be done for a student of the New Testament than to introduce him to this vast and important field of investigation. The brief sketch which we give here is but a bare introduction. We may best present the discussion under three heads: the *creative factors* in the experience of the people which inspired the production of this literature; the *geographical centers* about which the literature gathered; and a *general survey* of the literature under its different types.

I. Creative Factors

One is not able to appreciate the literature of this period without some understanding of why and for what it was written. Some of the deepest impulses of the human heart are seeking to find expression in these writings. All the passion of religious fervor and pathos of martyrdom are voiced in this literature. To treat this matter exhaustively would of course necessitate an investigation into the history of each particular

document, but it is possible in a brief way to make a general survey of the principal and common features.

(1) *Intense Devotion to the Law and Worship of Jehovah.* The Captivity had taught the Jews a great lesson. It was the neglect of the prescribed worship of Jehovah which had brought about the great calamity, and in far away Babylon, absent from Jerusalem and the Temple, perpetuation of their worship became exceedingly difficult. The remnant of the race who remained loyal to their traditions hailed with joy the privilege granted them by Cyrus of returning to their own country. Thus it was a responsive group who yielded themselves to the leadership and influence of Zerubbabel, Nehemiah and Ezra in the Restoration. This restored population of Palestine, made up largely from the tribe of Judah, were deeply devoted to the traditions and teachings of the fathers. To them the Law of Moses and the Levitical rites represented the highest interests of life.

The strict and loyal Jews believed that the only hope of the world resided in Jewish legalism. One of the distinguishing features about the expected Messianic program was that the Messiah would call the world to conformity with the Law, and to the Law as interpreted by the rabbinic schools of Judaism. That is, he was to be a sort of second Moses. This devotion to legalism colored practically all the literary effort of the period. Of course some writings were more intensely legalistic than others, but in all here was evident respect for the Law. This was not in itself a reprehensible motive. The mistake of the Jews was not in having a high regard for the Law, but in seeking an artificial and forced application of the Law. The legalistic note in their literature is not always a defect; in fact, it frequently presents a virtue.

(2) *Persecution by Heathen Nations.* The religious and racial exclusiveness of the Jews has subjected them to intense prejudice and hatred in all their history. At no period was this opposition more severe than in that now under consideration. While Palestine was under the control of the Ptolemies of Egypt the Jews enjoyed a large degree of religious liberty, but we have seen how the Syrian kings sought to break down their stubborn loyalty to the traditions and practices of their race, and to compel their adoption of the culture and customs

of their Greek conquerors. A large portion of the race refused to be Hellenized, and the unthinkable extremes of persecution came as a consequence. In the midst of its terrors some of the best of the literature of Judaism originated. It echoes the heartaches of a despised and baffled people. Some of the richest strains of religious pathos ever produced by the Jews are to be found in the Psalms composed in these hours of national crisis.

(3) *Efforts At Compromise Made By the Liberal Jews.* Here lay the cause of the most intense antagonism which Jewish life ever experienced. Loyalty to traditional Judaism was never quite unanimous, even among the Jews of the Restoration. Especially after the Alexandrian campaigns, and the aggressive propaganda of the Syrian rulers, a strong Hellenistic drift set in among the Jews, and the ardent supporters of the national religion arose in mighty protest against the threatened apostasy.

With the Jews patriotism and religion were one. The nation was an object of divine favor, and their national history composed a large element in their scriptures. Their traditions were in a peculiar sense the account of God's revelation of Himself to them. To defend Israel against the inroads of heathen influence was to directly serve Jehovah, for Israel was the specially favored handiwork of Jehovah. The Holy City was the capital of the nation, and the Temple in which they worshipped was the national headquarters. So above every other concern of life the loyal Jew felt it his obligation to preserve intact the customs and traditions of his nation.

Those remaining true to traditional Judaism were known as "the righteous," while those yielding to Hellenistic tendencies were called "sinners." Many traces of this conflict are to be found in the literature of the period. It is at once patriotic and religious, for patriotism and religion were one and the same thing to the Jew. Yet the literature of Judaism is by no means wholly exclusive, sectarian and nationalistic. In much of it there is reflected a truly altruistic interest. While the conviction is everywhere evident that they wished to see all the nations of earth united under the influence of Judaism, at the same time it is clear that, in their view, this would be to the immeasurable benefit of the world. While this was by

no means the view of all Judaism, for many were utterly indifferent to the fate of the Gentile world, it was the attitude of the better spirits of the nation.

The course of subsequent history has proved that, while wrong in their conception of its application, in the essence of this doctrine the Jews were right. The greatest single benefit the world has ever received it has derived from a rligion which originated with a Jew and His Jewish followers.

God never ceased to work in the national consciousness of Israel in preparation for the coming of His Son, and the traces of His hand may be found in much of the literature of Judaism. It reflects high conceptions of the issues of human life, and a really unselfish interest in those issues.

II. Geographical Centers

Though standard Judaism ever had its great stronghold at Jerusalem, there was much of Judaism which developed outside of Palestine. With that in the Mesopotamian valley we are not concerned here, for it only remotely affected the New Testament, and produced no literature of note. The two places which deserve treatment here are Jerusalem and Alexandria.

Jerusalem.

In Palestine, and chiefly in Jerusalem, originated that literature which had most to do with shaping the world into which Jesus came. It did not represent the greater part of the literature of Judaism taken in bulk, for by far the most of it was written by Alexandrian Jews, but it was the most distinctly Jewish, and wielded the greatest influence in the development of Judaism as such. It was the least subject to the influence of Greek literature and thought, and hence best represents the potency of those interests which were discussed in the preceding section. It was likely all written in Hebrew (or Aramaic) and was closest to the real heart of the Jewish people. It represents most accurately the real thought content of Judaism. In it the Jewish life and consciousness found unhindered, unadulterated expression. Consequently, the most important literature of this period for the New Testament student is that written in Palestine.

Alexandria.

While the Palestinian literature is of greatest importance for New Testament study, yet the great body of literature produced in and around Alexandria is by no means unimportant, and is at the same time intensely interesting. This literature became less Jewish and more Greek until by the time we reach Philo we have Greek philosophy interpreted from a Jewish point of view. There are four representatives of the Alexandrian-Jewish literature which mark four stages of advance toward the Hellenistic literary and philosophical type. The first is the pseudepigraphic letter of *Aristeas* written in Egypt about 100 B. C., and exhibiting the desire on the part of the Jews of Alexandria to gain recognition and respect from their heathen neighbors and rulers. The *Wisdom of Solomon*, written in Egypt about 50 B. C., is a piece of Jewish wisdom literature deeply colored by Greek speculation, and marking a further advance in Hellenistic character. *IV Maccabees*, written between 100 and 125 A. D., represents the third step in the approach to Greek culture. The climax came in Philo, who died probably not far from A. D. 150. Philo was more a Greek philosopher than he was a Jewish religionist. All this Alexandro-Jewish literature presents much of interest to the New Testament student, but there are two matters in the literary history of Alexandrian Judaism which arise for particular attention here.

(1) *The Septuagint.* It was Alexandrian Judaism which gave to the world the first great Bible translation in the form of a version of the Old Testament books of Law in Greek. It was called the "Septuagint" by reason of the tradition that seventy-two Jewish scribes did the translating.

Up to about the third century B. C. there had never arisen an occasion for the translation of the Old Testament. When the Jews were carried as captives to Assyria and Babylonia they carried their language and, to some extent, their customs with them. But when Alexander established a colony of Jews in Egypt the situation was different. The Greek language rapidly became the prevalent tongue of the eastern Mediterranean world, and was of course the language of Alexandria. The colony of Jews at Alexandria were given full citizenship, assigned a large section of the city for their exclusive occupa-

tion, and accorded the full liberty of worship in their own way. Naturally this kind of treatment made them feel favorable toward the existing government, and hence disposed to adapt themselves to their new environment and be contented therein. The Ptolemies continued the liberal measures of Alexander, and in consequence the Alexandrian Jews soon became thoroughly naturalized. Within a few generations the great majority were unable to speak or understand the Hebrew language.

Their distinctive Jewish form of worship was carried on with perfect freedom. Several synagogues arose, in which the Alexandrian Jews studied the sacred Law of their people. This created a demand to have the services conducted and the scriptures read in the language which all the people could understand—the *Koiné* Greek.

The exact facts about the origin of the Septuagint are not known. The letter of Aristeas gives a very miraculous and highly fanciful account of how the translation was accomplished. By sifting out the fiction from this account we arrive at the following as the probable facts. During the reign of Philadelphus (285-247 B. C.) there was recognized a demand for the Jewish scriptures in Greek. This demand likely came chiefly from the Jews themselves, from reasons intimated above, though it is quite possible that the Egyptian king was glad to lend his patronage to a movement which would add to the unity of his kingdom as well as increase the Library which he was interested in promoting. A group of Alexandrian Jewish scribes was got together—possibly the traditional number of seventy-two, and the work of translating the books of the Law was accomplished by them.

It is likely that the first translation contained only the Pentateuch, but other books were translated in rapid succession as fast as rolls and translators could be secured. This Greek Old Testament was gladly received and widely used by the Jews of Egypt and of the entire Hellenistic world until after the time of Christ. It was of course very little used in Palestine, as the Jews there would prefer the Hebrew, which was closer to their native tongue (Aramaic) and made sacred by national traditions. After the beginning of the Christian movement the Septuagint became so widely used by the Christians

and so freely appealed to in their controversies with the Jews that the orthodox Jews grew skeptical of the translation and had other translations made. But the Septuagint remained the Bible of the Christians down to the Middle Ages. It was frequently quoted by the New Testament writers, especially the author of Hebrews. It was used frequently by Paul who showed also ability to use the Hebrew text. There is but slight trace of the Septuagint in the Synoptics, but considerable in John's Gospel. The early church fathers used it almost exclusively. It was for a hundred years after the birth of Christ the only Bible of the Christian world.

The Septuagint was translated into the colloquial Greek, known as the *Koiné* In many places the extreme literalness of the translation makes the Greek very awkward. It is best in the Pentateuch. The work was done by many different translators, working on different parts at different periods, resulting in a lack of homogeneity in the production. In its final form it contained several more books than the accepted canon of Palestine. Its canon was a gradual development without fixed limits. It was, however, practically complete by the beginning of the Christian era.

(2) *The Apocrypha.* The origin of this title is not definitely known. The word is a translation of the neuter plural of the Greek adjective *apokruphos,* meaning 'hidden,' 'concealed.' Its significance is quite certainly not Hebrew in origin. There was a late Hebrew phrase applied to the Old Testament which may be rendered 'hidden books,' but this term was used for the best of the canonical books and really meant stored away as a treasure, precious, extraordinarily sacred. The most likely explanation is that the term was of Christian origin. There were books used in some of the heretical sects of early Christianity, esoteric and ascetic in their practices, which books were kept secret. Hence they became known as *apokrupha,* hidden or secret books. These heretical works were severely condemned by orthodox Christianity, and hence the term *apokrupha* came to mean books excluded from the canon. The term, originally applied to Christian writings, came in course of time to denote books not contained in the Old Testament canon.

In general terms we may say that the Apocrypha include those books of the Latin Vulgate not contained in the Hebrew canon of the Old Testament. It is difficult to set definite limits, because a fixed standard of determination has not been agreed upon. The number of books in the Septuagint differs from the canon of the present Roman Church. But as generally known the Apocrypha consist of ten separate books, one addition to Esther, and three additions to Daniel—making fourteen in all.

The Christian world has never been agreed on the value and authority of the Apocrypha. In the first century the Christian Jews of Palestine likely did not accept them as on a par with the other Old Testament books. Outside of Palestine they were held in higher favor by the Christians, especially after the beginning of the second century, but Christianity has never given quite unanimous recognition to the canonical standing of these books. The ecumenical council of Carthage (A. D. 397) gave them formal standing by declaring them canonical, but even this never gained universal consent. During the Reformation the question was revived again, and the Protestant confessions of faith, though differing as to the value of the Apocrypha, were agreed in rejecting their inspiration. Roman Catholicism still holds to them as canonical and, therefore, inspired.

III. General Survey

It is not practical to undertake here a treatment of all the literary products of Judaism. Necessary limits of space do not permit such a treatment, and the design of the discussion does not require it. We will consider only the most important representatives of each type of literature, in order that the student may obtain a comprehension of the characer and scope of the literary effort of Judaism.

In this classification it is not possible to draw hard and fast lines. No piece of literature belongs exclusively to any one type. But however many elements it may contain, we may find some one which is pre-eminent, and which enables us to classify the document with a particular type. By the use of this method we may divide the literature of Judaism into five types: *historical*, *historico-romantic*, *poetical*, *apocalyptic*, and *gnomic*.

Historical.

There is no Jewish literature which is wholly historical. As has already been observed, to the Jew the past history of his nation was an important religious asset, and a sacred matter. They were therefore not primarily interested in history for history's sake, but as an important element in religion. This attitude affected more or less all their historical productions.

(1) Doubtless the nearest approach to purely historical literature is to be found in *I Maccabees*. This book was written in Palestine about 125 to 100 B. C. Its original language was Hebrew, but it was soon translated into Greek, and became part of the Septuagint, through which it has been preserved. It is of inestimable value as a source-document for Jewish history. The author was a Palestinian Jew, but not an ardent legalist. His motive was very largely historical. The religious point of view is not that of the Old Testament. There is a striking lack of the Old Testament emphasis upon special divine intervention. While there is a clear religious interest, and an evident sense of God's relation to men, yet the author is very faithful to his historical purpose. He is seeking to give the Jewish people an accurate account of their eventful and heroic struggle for national independence.

The book recites the military exploits of the Maccabean family in their struggle for indepedence from Syrian domination. The hero of the book is Judas Maccabaeus, and the greater part of it is devoted to recounting his military successes. The introduction gives a survey of the Alexandrian kingdom and its division, and then deals with the causes of the Jewish revolt. Then follows an account of the beginning of the struggle under Mattathias the father of the Maccabean heroes. Next there comes a record of the marvelous campaigns of Judas and the final liberation of Palestine. The closing chapters contain a narrative of the deeds and destinites of the successors of Judas.

(2) Quite different in quality from this book is the book known as II *Maccabees*. It is not thus named because it is second in the sense of sequence, but because it contains another account of the same events. It was written in Greek about 75-50 B. C., by an Alexandrian Jew, for the purpose of exalting

Judaism. While the material used is historical, yet the religious purpose of the author is clearly dominant. The progress running through the book is one of religious feeling rather than historical purpose. There is a marked note of Jewish piety, and a strong emphasis upon religious devotion and legalism. Chronological disorder and crass supernaturalism are distiguishing qualities of the narrative. While it covers very much the same period as I Maccabees, its historical value is not to be compared with that book. But neither is it to be regarded as historically worthless. There is undoubtedly a basis of fact embedded in its account of the Maccabean struggle. It begins with two letters which Schurer thinks were attached after it was written, and by hands other than the autthor's. Then a brief preface is given, describing the literary source of the work. The book proper begins with the reign of Seleucus IV. The first event related is the desecration of the temple by one of the ministers of Seleucus. Then follows an account of the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes, leading to the Maccabean revolt, the account closing with the victory of Judas over Nicanor (160-161), and a brief epilogue by the author. The author himself tells us that his work is an empitome of of an earlier work of five volumes by Jason of Cyrene. The original work of Jason has perished, and what we have here is a condensation of the larger work, revised to suit the apologetic interests of its author. On the whole we may say of II Maccabees that it is a book of some value and considerable interest.

(3) Somewhere between the two extremes of historical merit represented by I and II Maccabees we may place the works of *Josephus*. Josephus is of special interest to the New Testament student both because of his close relation to Jewish history of the first century and the value of his writings as historical sources. He was born at Jerusalem about A. D. 37 or 38. While Paul was in Jerusalem for the purpose of becoming acquainted with Peter (Gal. 1:18, ASV m.), Josephus was an infant in a Jerusalem home. He was of priestly lineage, and educated for a priest. His original Jewish name was Joseph, which he Latinized by adding the ending *-us* and taking the surname Flavius. His rearing and education were obtained in the very midst of the events which were connected

with the rise of Christianity. In view of this fact it is rather strange that we should find in his writing no reference to Christianity—with the exception of two passages of which the text is in question. From the beginning of his career Josephus attained to prominence in Jewish affairs. According to his own account, he visited Rome at the age of twenty-six in an effort to obtain liberty for some of his fellow-countrymen. When he was about thirty or thirty-one years of age there broke out in Palestine the Jewish revolt of A. D. 66-70. Josephus took an active part in this uprising, but with no very zealous spirit, because he was without confidence in the outcome, and perhaps was sympathetic towards Rome to begin with. He was placed in charge of the forces in Galilee, but recognized his inability to offer successful resistance, he capitulated at the first approach of the Romans. He was taken captive and became a prisoner of war, but was treated with unusual favor, possibly because of his manifest sympathy with the Roman cause.

After the fall of Jerusalem Josephus became a resident and citizen of Rome, and devoted the remainder of his life to literary activity. His work was of a general historical character, but Josephus was essentially an apologist rather than a historian. His writings were in Greek, in which he naturally developed great proficiency after he took up residence in Rome. His first work was on the Jewish struggle for independence from Rome, and bore the simple title, "The War." It was likely first written for the Jews of the far east, where a million or more were living in the Mesopotamian valley. This first edition was written in Aramaic. Later he rewrote and enlarged the same work, writing the second edition in Greek. It was most likely written about 80 A. D. Without question the most important literary product of Josephus was his "Antiquities," written at Rome about 90-93 A. D. To the production of this book he devoted many years of careful effort, and it stands as his greatest work. It is an account of Jewish history from the beginning down to his own time. The work falls naturally into three parts. In the first part he follows the Old Testament story, and simply narrates in popular language and style the events recorded there. The second division covers the interbiblical period, where his sources were various

but not trustworthy. The last part is an account of the Jews of his own age, and of the war with Rome. The historical reliability of this work is frequently opened to question, due to the untrustworthiness of many of his sources and his own apologetic interest, but it is nevertheless an important source of historical data. Two other works of Josephus need but bare mention. "Against Apion" is a defense of Judaism against the unjust and often untrue attacks of a blind anti-Semitism which existed in the word of his day. "Life" is a not altogether modest account of his own career. He died at Rome about 95-98 A. D., being over sixty years of age.

Historico-Romantic.

Professor Clyde W. Votaw of the University of Chicago calls this type "Didactic Romance." Schurer describes it as "Horatory Narrative." (See *Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, II, iii, p. 32). The matter of designation is really not of special importance. The character of the literature is quite clearly distinct. Schurer describes it thus: "Stories of a purely fictitious character were composed, which the author no doubt intended to be regarded as founded on fact, though at the same time the object in view was not so much to impart historical information, as to use these stories as vehicles for conveying moral and religious lessons and exhortations. From the incidents narrated—which were taken from the history of the Jewish people, or from the life of certain individuals—the readers are expected to learn the truth that the fear of God is after all the highest wisdom, for God always delivers His children in some wonderful way in the end, although for a little He may bring them into circumstances of trouble and danger" (ibid). It is hortatory romance, purporting to be based upon hisitorical events.

(1) The most of this type of literature seems to have been produced in Egypt. Only one of any importance was produced in Palestine. This was the book of *Judith*, a Hebrew document, written about 200 B. C. It represents ardent national Judaism, of the particularistic and legalistic kind. The viewpoint of the book is Pharisaic; its method is that of Old Testament history; its purpose was to edify and encourage the people in a time of great trial and persecution, to the end that they might

offer brave resistance to the enemies of Jewish religion and liberty. It was likely written during the persecution by Antiochus Epiphantes, and before the Maccabean revolt.

The title of the book is the name of the heroine of the story. The name means 'Jewess,' and the heroine of the story is probably intended to portray typically Jewish patriotism and devotion. The book divides itself naturally into two parts. Chapters i to vii serve as an introduction, and give an account of the military situation which occasioned Judith's deed. Chapters viii to xvi give the story of Judith and tell of her strategy to save her people. The historical setting is a supposed campaign of Nebuchadnezzar, "who reigned over the Assyrians in Nineveh." Because the western nations of his empire failed to aid him in a military expedition, he sends Holofernes, the chief of his generals, with a large army to punish them. The Jews, in order to protect Jerusalem and the Temple, fortify some of their mountain towns. One of these towns, named Bethulia, is attacked and besieged. The elders in fear obtain the consent of the people to sue for capitulation; but Judith, a rich widow of the town, asks for the privilege of making an effort to save her people. Attiring herself in her most beautiful garments, she goes forth to the camp of the enemy, Holofernes is totally captivated by her beauty, is deceived into believing that her purpose is to betray her townsmen to their enemies, and orders a great banquet spread in her honor. Being left alone in the quarters of the drunken leader, she cuts off his head and returns to the town with it. The army is then easily routed and Bethulia, with all Palestine, is saved. It is likely that the book of Judith was read at the celebration of one of the Maccabean feasts, either Dedication or Nicanor's Day.

(2) The other three books included in this class were all written in Egypt. Their original language was the Koiné Greek. The earliest was the book of *Tobit*, which was written about 225 B. C., if not earlier. This is most probably the oldest extant piece of literature produced in Egypt. Some even think that the original language was Aramaic, and this is possibly true, though if it was written as late as 225 the original language was almost certainly Greek. It represents a high type of Jewish ethics and religion. It was written for

Jews of the Dispersion. Likely the specific purpose inspiring its production was to counteract the influence of a certain piece of heathen literature known as the "Tractate of Kohns." This was an Egyptian writing, composed in the interest of Egyptian religion. It tells of a princess, possessed of a demon, which Kohns, the Egyptian god, expels, and heals the princess. This story was likely gaining a hold upon the religious imagination of some of the Jews of Egypt, and Tobit was written as a rival tractate. For this reason we find in it a strain of Oriental superstition.

The title of the book is the name of the hero of the story. It is written in the form of an autobiography. The story is located several centuries before the time of writing, the plot being laid in Babylonia. Tobit, with Ana his wife and their son Tobias, is dwelling near Nineveh. Raguel, a kinsman of Tobit, lives in Media. In an effort to perform a benevolent deed Tobit loses the sight of both eyes. Realizing that the end of his active life is rapidly approaching, he sends his son Tobias to get ten talents which some years before he had left in Rages of Media. Tobias' companion on this journey is the angel Raphael. Arriving at Ecbatana the home of Raguel, Tobias meets Sarah, Raguel's daughter, and secures her hand in marriage. Sarah had already had seven husbands, all of whom were killed by a jealous demon immediately after marriage to her. By means of a plan suggested to him by Raphael, Tobias succeeds in eluding the demon, rescues Sarah, and returns to his father. Meanwhile Raphael has journeyed on to Rages and secured the treasure left there by Tobit. Through another suggestion of the angel, Tobias restores his sight to his father. Tobit offers a song of gratitude to Raphael as he departs. Thus closes one of the most fascinating pieces of Jewish literature, a story which was exceedingly popular in the early centuries among both Jews and Christians, and was embraced in the Alexandrian canon.

(3) Another book in this group which is intensely Jewish, though written outside of Palestine, is the book known as *III Maccabees*. The title has been superficially attached. It is entirely a misnomer, there being no connection between the book and the Maccabean struggle. The title is quite probably not original, but arose from the association of this writing with

the other Maccabean books in a common manuscript. Its grouping with these books probably resulted from the fact that they are all concerned with problems of persecution and deliverance.

There is quite a good deal of III Maccabees which cannot be regarded as historical. It is, however, quite likely based on a real historical occurrence. It is a Jewish apology in the form of historical romance. It is set in the third century B. C., in the reign of Ptolemy IV of Egypt. According to the story, after the success of his battle against Antiochus at Raphia, the Egyptian king came back to Jerusalem and attempted to defile the Temple. Being miraculously frustrated in this attempt, he returned to Egypt and planned to wreak vengeance on the Jews of his own country. He first sought revenge by interfering with their religious and civil status. Finally, in desperation and rage, he ordered the Jews of Egypt assembled in Alexandria, and that drunken elephants be released among them. But when the order was carried out the elephants turned on the Egyptians, and the Jews escaped. As a result of this miracle of deliverance the King was converted to the worship of Jehovah, and the Jews arose to a higher position in the realm than they had ever attained before. This interesting story, having probably some historical basis, was composed in Greek by an Alexandrian Jew about 125 B. C. It is a weak book, and the style is very figurative. It has little moral, religious or historical value, save as it reflects the viewpoint of Judaism at the period.

(4) The nearest approach to the Greek point of view to be found in this type is the socalled *Letter of Aristeas*, written in Egypt about 100 B. C. In this book the strong Hellenizing tendency of Alexandrian Judaism is clearly evident. It gives the account of the origin of the Septuagint. The document is not, strictly speaking, historical. There might have been in the mind of the writer some intention to give or preserve an account of the translation of the Septuagint, but this appears to have been a secondary motive. His chief motive seems to have been to place before the Gentile reader a fusion of the religious and moral teachings of Judaism with with the life and philosophy of Hellenism. The author represents himself as a Gentile, but is in reality a Jew praising Judaism and commending it to the Gentiles from, he assumes, or at

least hopes, their own point of view. Its chief value for us is the light which it throws on the history of the Septuagint.

Poetical.

This period was not especially characterized by psalm writing, but nevertheless some of the best psalms to be found in Hebrew poetry were produced out of the struggle and heartache of these years.

(1) A few Psalms contained in the canonical Psalter were quite probably written during the Maccabean conflict, and are called *Maccabean Psalms*. As far back as Theodore of Mopsuestia it was suggested that there might be Maccabean Psalms in the canon of the Old Testament. Theodore suggested the seventeenth as a possibility. Calvin regarded a few of the Psalms as Maccabean. This belief has continued to grow and find enlarging support among scholars until there is no longer much question whether there are Maccabean Psalms in the Psalter, but how many there are and which. Some think there are many, while others think there are but few. There is a fairly general consensus of opinion on four: 44, 74, 79, and 83. Several scholars are inclined to add 110 and 149. One could never be dogmatic about this matter, for it is exceedingly difficult to determine the date of a psalm. There are but very slight marks of its period and historical background, which is in the nature of the case true of poetry, and furthermore the liturgical use made of them tended to remove the specific and to generalize and conventionalize them. Hence there may be many more belonging to the Maccabean period than has been commonly supposed. It is practically certain that the Hagiographa of the Hebrew canon—to which the Psalms belonged—was not closed until after the Maccabean period, and consequently Maccabean Psalms could have been included, though no one could be certain that they were.

(2) There is no doubt about one group of Psalms belonging to this period. These are the pseudonymous *Psalms of Solomon*. There are eighteen of these Psalms in all. The seventeenth is the one of gretest interest to the New Testament student because of its pronounced Messianic element. The standpoint of these psalms is strict Pharisaic Judaism. They are intensely nationalistic, but pervaded by an earnest moral

tone and sincere piety. The righteous of Israel are constantly held up in contrast with the nations of the world. Those who are indifferent to the laws and customs of Judaism are called "sinners." Those who are in line with traditional orthodoxy are the "righteous." Their purpose was to condemn and correct liberal and political Judaism, and to check the growing tendency toward Hellenism. It is clear that they sprang up in a time when some family not of the house of David had been occupying the throne. There had been great sin, and a falling away from the traditions of Israel. This description fits best the time of the Asmonean dynasty (105 to 63 B. C.). The second psalm seems to be an imprecation against Pompey. He is the one who 'with a battering-ram cast down fortified walls,' and is welcomed by the sinners. When he enters the city he desecrates the Temple and oppresses the people, but is finally himself overthrown and dies on the shores of Egypt. This description so accurately fits Pompey that there can be little doubt that he is the one in mind. It seems that some of the Psalms were written much later than Pompey's time. It is probable that their dates range from 63 to 48 B. C. Their original language was Hebrew, and the place of composition Palestine. They are of interest to New Testament study as portraying important elements of the Messianic hope of Judaism.

Apocalyptic.

We approach here the most distinctive literature produced by Judaism. Judaism was characterized by an intense Messianism, and it was thought that the Messianic age would usher in the end of the present world order; hence the abundance of apocalyptic writings. The term 'apocalyptic' is a transliteration of a Greek word made up from two other words, one meaning 'from' and the other meaning 'to cover,' hence to take the cover from, to disclose, to reveal. The Jews had no such word in their language. For this sort of literature they used the word prophecy. Apocalyptic represents the predictive element in phophecy. This predictive work of the Jews was occasioned by a desire to know the future. They wished to know the future because the present seemed to them wholly unsatisfactory, even sometimes unbearable, and they believed it was God's purpose in some way to remedy conditions. In this

apocalyptic literature the highest idealism and hope of Judaism is expressed. It represents a noble effort and deserves our deepest appreciation.

This period was particularly adapted to apocalyptic, because apocalyptic was a literature of persecution. When political powers oppressed, and those within Judaism apostatized, when the dearest object in the possession of the devout Jew—his religion—was critically jeopardized, then he instinctively turned to God and the future for hope. The superb faith of Judaism, when borne down by tyranny and persecution, renounced the present order, and escaped its fetters of bondage by soaring high on the wings of hope into another world order, wherein God and righteousness would reign supreme.

Apocalyptic literature was thoroughly futuristic in its point of view; hence the peculiar style was that of vision. But it must always be borne in mind that the futuristic bearing was general rather than specific, and that the vision was a figure of certain great issues and ideas related to the situation which was real and present to the apocalyptist. The prediction was generally of the consumation of God's plan for Israel, and the ultimate triumph of righteousness and the Law.

The pathetic heart-throb of Jewish hope in the midst of trial and persecution found its most satisfying expression in the form of apocalyptic writings. This Jewish apocalypticism formed its earliest models in Ezekiel and Daniel, and its noblest and most enduring product in the New Testament book of Revelation.

(1) The literature of Judaism contained several of these apocalyptic documents, but four are of particular interest. The greatest one, both in its length and in the breadth of its prophetic horizon, is the book now generally known as *I Enoch.* The work is likely composite, produced by piecing together five smaller apocalypses, and has but little unity. The dates of these five documents range from 200 to 64 B. C. The work clearly took its title from the Old Testament patriarch of that name. There was a considerable amount of such Enoch literature. We have here five such documents, and in the composite work known as II Enoch there is another collection. Because of the description of Enoch in Gen. 5:24 he was supposed to have had the privilege of special knowledge of the

heavenly categories. It was this idea of the patriarch having been conversant with the secrets of God that led to the production of the abundance of Enoch literature. I Enoch was composed in Palestine, and its original language was Hebrew or Aramaic, or possibly both, as in the case of Daniel.

The book may be analyzed into six main divisions, and the divisions into several sections each. The first division is chapters 1-36. It is pre-Maccabean in date, and Schurer regards it as the original basis of the whole work. Section one, chapters 1-5, depicts the future lot of the righteous and the wicked. Charles thinks this section is an editorial introduction to the whole collection. (See *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii, p. 169.). His hypothesis is quite plausible, and deserves consideration. Section two, chapters 6-11, which Charles thinks is a Noah fragment, deals with the fall of the angels. Section three, chapters 12-16, is a dream vision in which Enoch is commissioned to announce divine judgment on the angels, and by them is entreated to intercede in their behalf. He complies with their request, but without success. Chapter 14 presents a typical Jewish picture of heaven. Section four, chapters 17-27, gives Enoch's first journey through the earth and Sheol. Section five, chapters 28-36, is an account of his second journey, and gives a description of heaven and hell, with a vision of the throne of God and of the Messianic kingdom. The line of thought throughout these thirty-six chapters is an effort to justify the ways of God in His dealings with men. The righteous shall not always suffer, and the wicked shall not always prosper, but ultimately the wicked are to be destroyed, and the earth renewed as the peaceful abode of the righteous.

The second and most important division idncludes chapters 37-71. It contains three allegories or similitudes. The first, chapters 37-44, gives an insight into the secret mysteries of heaven and the heavenly bodies. The second, chapters 45-57, deals with the Messiah, calling him the Son of Man, and the Elect One, and discussing his nature and mission, a mission of judgment and kingdom building. The third, chapters 58-71, deals further with the issues of blessedness for the righteous and judgment for the wicked.

The third division is composed of chapters 72-81. This is in two sections. Section one, chapters 72-79, is of scientific import, unfolding the secrets of the celestial bodies, as taught to Enoch by the angels who has these maters in charge. Section two, chapters 80-82, is of ethical import, setting forth the punishment of the wicked and the triumph of the righteous.

The fourth division of the book embraces chapters 83-90. Here we have two dreams of Enoch, one about the Deluge, and the other giving an allegorical picture of the world's history down to the time of the author, in figures drawn from the animal creation.

The fifth division, chapters 91-105, contains two sections. Section one, chapters 91-93, offers a representation of the course of events under the figures of ten successive weeks, seven dealing with the past and three loking toward th futur. Section two, chapters 94-105, contains a message of exhortation and hope for the righteous and inevitable woe for the sinner.

The closing division of the bok, chapters 106-108, is made up of two fragments, the longer being a Noah fragment, representing in apocalyptic imagery the birth of Noah (106, 107), and the shorter, built on the same model as the preceding Noah fragment, being a depiction of the eternal destiny of the wicked and the righteous.

(2) The only apocalyptic production of importance outside of Palestine was *II Enoch,* also known as 'Slavonic Enoch,' because of the language in which we find the only extant copy, and the 'Book of the Secrets of Enoch.' This document is a comparatively recent discovery, having been first brought to public notice in 1892. The honor belongs to R. H. Charles, the greatest scholar in this field which the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have produced, of first investigating and giving to the public the real nature and value of this apocalypse. The last half is of gnomic or wisdom type, and probably originated in Palestine. The apocalyptic portion, forming the first half of the book, was apparently not written under the stress of persecution, as was usually the case with apocalyptic writings, but is a calm exposition of current Jewish apocalyptic ideals. It was likely composed by an Alexandrian Jew about A. D. 50, for the purpose of acquainting his kinsmen in Egypt with the apocalyptic ideas of standard Judaism.

(3) The third apocalypse deserving of notice here, was written (or compiled) in Palestine by an ardent Pharisee. It is known as *II Baruch*, and is represented to be a writing of Baruch the friend of Jeremiah, relating what he did before and after the destruction of Jerusalem. The contents of the book consist of three divisions, an introduction, a central portion (chaps. 13-76) is the apocalyptic part, consisting almost entirely of visions and revelations. The conclusion (chaps. 78-77) records admonitions and epistles of Baruch to the people of Israel. The religious standpoint is standard Judaism of the first century A. D. The work was written contemporaneously with the rise of the Christian movement. Charles thinks that it was a polemic against Christianity, but there is little, if any, evidence for this view. The work is clearly an apology for Judaism. It is an effort to explain the disaster which befell the Jews in the destruction of Jerusalem. It was written in Palestine about A. D. 80, in Hebrew (or Aramic).

(4) The apocalypse known as *IV Ezra* was written in Palestine about A. D. 90. The book bears this title because purported to have been writetn by the ancient Hebrew scribe of that name. There is, however, no great emphasis upon this pseudepigraphic character of the book, as the name occurs only three times. The book is made up of seven visions, all of them devoted to an effort to explain the fall of Jerusalem. It is concerned with the same general theme which occupies II Baruch, but approaches the problem in a far different attitude. In II Baruch, we find the viewpoint of satisfied, standard Judaism; but this book is in a sense a criticism of standard Judaism, especially as to the doctrine that only a few are saved, and that God is entirely pleased that there should be only a few. This last was the standard Jewish view, but to the author of this book it is not satisfactory. He earnestly seeks for a different and better view, finally falling back upon the standard eschatology of his day for an explanation. He takes the view that the trials of Israel are disciplinary and preparatory in their purpose. He also resorts to the argument that the ways of God are beyond human understanding.

Gnomic.

This type is also called "wisdom literature." It is of that general type represented by the canonical book of Proverbs.

While apocalyptic dealt with the theoretical and eschatological, wisdom dealt with the practical and ethical. This gnomic literature represents Jewish moral philosophy at its best. It was written for the guidance of the people in their everyday lives. It consists of conclusions which have been reached by reflection upon the experiences of human life. This wisdom activity was not only literary, but was also carried on in personal instruction. What we have preserved in writing is the best ideas produced by that phase of Jewish activity. It was one of the most important phases of Jewish life, and produced the most extensive literature. Five representatives of this type may be considered here.

(1) The oldest book in the group is known as *Sirach*, or *Sira*. What its original title was we cannot be certain, for it is extant in Hebrew only in fragments, all of which are defective in the opening verses. In the Greek manuscripts it is called "The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach." The title "Ecclesiasticus" has been in use in the Latin Church since the middle of the third century. This title is ill-chosen. It means church book, and this book is not such in any peculiar sense. Nevertheless, it is the title which the book carried in the Vulgate, and has survived to modern times. The simple name Sira seems to be the preferable title. As is true of all books in this class, the contents are miscellaneous, and lack systematic arrangement. This absence of logical sequence in these books is not to be regarded as disorder, but was the wisdom method. The typical Jewish mind was not analytical and logical, but practical and concrete. Such is the character of this book. It offers a manual of conduct, by which the author designed to promote higher living. He studied human experience and sought to point the way to a better life. The book was written about 190-170 B. C. in Hebrew, probably at Jerusalem. Its teachings are in line with orthodox Judaism.

(2) In this group belongs the book known as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The title is derived from the historical setting of the story. The book purports to be the testament of the twelve sons of Jacob, given to their sons at their deathbeds. There are twelve sections, one devoted to each of the twelve patriarchs. The pseudepigraphic character of the book was probably not intended as a deception, but as a

matter of literary form. The story is not told from historical motives, but as a medium of teaching. It belongs to that literary form known among the Jews as *Haggadha.* The original language was Hebrew. It was probably written during the years of John Hyrcanus, about 109 to 106 B. C. The author was a loyal Pharisee and an ardent admirer of the Maccabean family. Each testament presents three distincts parts. (1) The patriarch gives a sketch of his own life history, confessing the wrongs he has done and calling attention to his virtues. (2) He then offers his sons an earnest word of exhortation. (3) Each testament closes with a sort of apocalyptic message setting forth the redemption of Israel as mediated through the tribes of Levi and Judah. Because of this apocalyptic element the book is sometimes classified with the apocalypses, but considerably the major portion of it is of the wisdom type. The chief interest of the book is in its ethical teachings and their similarity to the moral tone of the New Testament.

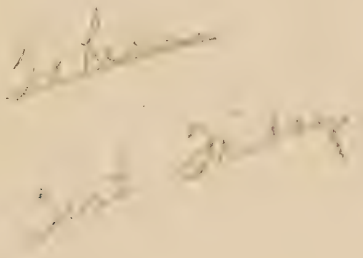
(3) This wisdom activity also extended to Egypt. The earliest work of the gnomic type in this region was the *Wisdom of Solomon,* also known as the "Book of Wisdom," or just "Wisdom." It is unquestionably pseudepigraphic, though many Catholic scholars have tried to defend its Solomonic authorship. It was written in Alexandria between 100 and 50 B. C. The original language was, of course, Greek. Its theology shows clearly the traces of Greek philosophy. The contents fall into three natural divisions. Chapters 1-6 contain an eschatological discourse, aimed against a doctrine which denied the immortality of the soul and the final judgment. Chapters 7-10 are a panegyric on wisdom, delineating it as the highest creation of God and the most valuable asset of man. This passage is thought by some critics to have exerted considerable influence over Paul, but the theory has but slight foundation. Chapters 11-19 present the glorification of Israel, and contrast God's favor toward them and their worship of God with the folly of heathen idolatry. It is a speculative religious discussion of eschatology and wisdom, treating wisdom in an abstract sense, characteristic of Greek philosophy rather than of Jewish gnomic literature. It is a book of philosophical theology instead of practical ethics.

(4) A second Alexandrian product of this type is *IV Maccabees*. The book bears this title because it is built upon the story of the Maccabean martyrs. It is wisdom teaching presented in the form of a highly rhetorical public address, after the manner of Greek philosophical speech-making. It is a synagogue sermon or anniversary address of some sort. The language is good idiomatic Greek of a literary style. It was written in Alexandria A. D. 1-25 by an unknown author.

(5) To this class of literature belongs the work of Philo, the greatest individual produced by Judaism as such. He was the most energetic and voluminous writer in all the history of the Jews. He represents the acme of Hellenized Judaism. His style, terminology, and mode of thought are Greek. He was, nevertheless, loyal to Moses and the traditions of Israel. His supreme effort was to interpret standard Judaism in the terms and thought forms of Greek philosophy current in his day. More will be said about his life and work in a later connection.

There are four other documents in the literature of Judaism which deserve brief mention. With the apocalyptic type belongs the *Book of Jubilees*, a voluminous work written by a Pharisee about the last quarter of the second century B. C. for the purpose of restraining the Hellenizing tendencies in Judaism and of exalting the Law. It is cast in the form of a midhrashic treatment of the Old Testament. Another representative of the apocalyptic class appears in the *Sibylline Oracles*, which are fragmentary remains of ancient records of supposedly divine sayings, dating in composition over a period from 300 B. C. to A. D. 150. The *Assumption of Moses* is a composite work of apocalyptic character produced in the first quarter of the first century A. D. for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of strict Pharisaism. Of the wisdom type we have, in addition to the works treated above, *I Baruch*, a composite document which came into existence in its present form about A. D. 70-80, having been written to bewail the tragic fate of Jerusalem. There are a number of other fragments or portions of documents, but not of importance sufficient to justify treatment here. The literature of Judaism in its distinctive character and chief contents has been presented to the studen in the above sketch.

The vast amount of rabbinic literature, now found in theological libraries in numbers of printed volumes, was not in written form until several centuries after New Testament times. It existed during this period in the form of oral tradition, committed to memory verbatim in the rabbinical schools. The oral law, or elaboration of the *Torah*, was organized into a systematic arrangement by Rabbi Juda about A. D. 200, but none of it was reduced to writing until later.



Part II. Hellenism

CHAPTER VI.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

We have traced in the preceding chapters the development in Israel of that significant and strategic situation which furnished the background for the historical realization of human redemption. But Israel was not serving alone in this holy enterprise. In unwitting—not to say unwelcome—co-operation with him Greece and Rome were working toward the same glorious climax. "The flood of preparation for Christianity flows steadily down the ages in three main streams—the Greek, ever bearing on its sparkling surface the one burden, the humane character of man; the Jewish, gradually becoming clearer, till it mirrors the nature of the one true God, then losing itself among the rocks of formalism, anon bursting its home banks and overflowing with fertilizing influence into many far-off lands; the Roman, swamping a world in its majestic current, then exhausting itself in the endless eddies caused by the junction of innumerable tributaries" (Wenley: *Preparation For Christianity*, p. 160). Rome was bringing the world to a state of peace and order, and providing facilities of communication, which would make possible the unhindred advance of the message of redemption; while Greece, having subdued and amalgamated the best elements of the Orient, was prparing a mind which could penetrate and interpret the profound truths of the Christian religion, a spirit which would furnish susceptible and fertile soil in which there might be sown the seed of gospel propaganda, and a language which could express the message of redemption with a beauty and accuracy which has not been equalled anywhere else in human speech. It may be readily discerned that these historical developments are of vital interest in the interpretation of the New Tstament. Rome occupies the foreground, as the ruling power of the time, and hence claims initial consideration.

At the dawn of the fifth century B. C., while Greece was cringing in dread before the ever encroaching menace of Persian aggression, and making every possible preparation for successful resistance, there had come into existence on the west-

ern shores of Italy a political power which was destined forever to deprive the proud Hellenic race of their peerless prestige as political rulers in the Mediterranean world. This new power was the infant Roman Republic. Wearied of the intolerable despotism of kings, she had cast off the yoke of monarchy, and committed herself to the uncertain fortunes of democracy. Or should we call it democracy? During the greater part of the period of the Republic the government was in reality an oligarchy. In the beginning the rule was aristocratic, being confined to the wealthy or "patrician" class, but after a succession of internal disturbances the common people or "plebians" secured for themselves a part in the government of the Republic. Having successfully repulsed barbarian invasions from the north, and subdued their neighbors in the Italian peninsula, at the beginning of the third century B. C. the Romans had made themselves a national power of the first magnitude. Such a position was certain to have its deadly rivals. The first to appear was the Carthaginian empire, with extensive territorial possessions in North Africa and Southwestern Europe, a large navy, a well trained army, and an invincible leader in the person of Hannibal. Against this powerful foe Rome threw all the weight of her renowned patriotism, valor, and military organization. After a series of conflicts, known as the First, Second, and Third Punic Wars, Carthage succumbed, and left the Roman Republic at 146 B. C. the dominant power of the West. Thereafter for more than half a century only gradual progress was made in the direction of world conquest. The task of adjusting the administration to the widely expanded territorial possessions brought inevitable difficulties and internal strife, and sharp contention between rival leaders; and invasions from without threatened the safety of the Republic. It was less than a century before the Christian era that the next great forward movement came. Already, a hundred years before, the Romans had subdued Macedonia, and conducted successful campaigns against Syria. But no permanent foothold was gained in Asia until 63 B. C., when the indefatigable Pompey led the victorious legions of the Republic through Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine and Egypt, thoroughly and unquestionably establishing Roman domination in the East. Thus the Mediterranean world was brought under the control of a single

government. After another succession of bloody contests between rival factions and their leaders at Rome, this vast realm, to which Julius Caesar had added Western Europe, came under the rule of a single man, Augustus Caesar (Octavian), who achieved an effciency of organization and an era of peace and safety which has been the marvel of all succeeding generations. In him the Roman Empire made its advent and attained its zenith.

The Roman Government

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of Roman rule in preparing the world for the spread of the Christian message. It accomplished in the East the culmination of a process which had been in progress for more than two centuries. This process was begun by Alexandria the Great. After that great conqueror had subjugated and unified the scattered and jealous factions of the Greek states he crossed into Asia Minor in 334 B. C., and began a campaign which accomplished one of the greatest historical developments of all times—the penetration of Greek culture into Oriental life. Henceforth Greek and Oriental marched forward hand in hand to conquer the world spiritually and intellectually. But at the very beginning of its advancement Graeco-Oriental civilization met a serious check, which certainly would have proven fatal had not a parallel development in history saved it. The breaking up of Alexander's empire after his premature death, and the political chaos which followed, divided the new Graeco-Oriental world into several warring factions, and resulted in a gradual disintegration of that colossal structure of Hellenistic dominion which the marvelous genius of Alexander had so widely established in so short a time. But we have seen how Rome advanced from the West, first into Macedonia, and then within the Asiatic borders, again combining the loose and deteriorating fragments of the Greek empire into a coherent organization. Thus Rome saved the decaying Hellenism, and Hellenism reciprocated by turning upon Rome the enchanting powers of her own superior cultural and religious influence. "Greece captive led enthralled her captor", (Myers: *History of Rome*, p. 85). Rome had soon adopted the education, philosophy, art, and religion of Greece. By spreading the stabalizing, organizing effects of her imperial administration over the Hellenistic

world, the Empire rescued the waning results of Greek culture and opened the way for its renewed advancment. Thus Roman, Greek, and Oriental met in the world which was to furnish its unique opportunity for the spread of the Christian message. The contribution of the Greek and Oriental will appear later in the discussion. Here we are considering the contribution of the Roman: an organized world. The government which had effected this organized world was the most equitable and best adjusted which antiquity produced.

(1) *The Central Government.* The form of the Roman government in the first century was nominally republican, but in effect it was an absolute monarchy. The emperor was supposed to be but the highest public official, the supreme magistrate of the people, subject to the will of the people as voiced by the Senate. But as a matter of fact, his authority was practically absolute.

The governing powers were the Senate and the Emperor. The Senate was composed of several hundred national leaders, who arose to their position, not by popular vote, but by virtue of a certain amount of wealth and influence, and because of having held some executive office of superior rank, to which they might have been elected either by popular assembly or by the Senate itself. The preogatives of the Senate were supposed to constitute a check upon the powers of the Emperor, but they were really subject to his pleasure. The chief office of the Emperor was head of the army, which he held absolutely within his power, and this gave him control of everything else connected with Rome or her realms. The Emperor could also raise one to the "order" of qualification for a place in the Senate, and then secure for him a public office, the discharge of which obtained for him an entrance into the Senate. It was also in the power of the Emperor to remove a Senator, if in his opinion the Senator was not properly performing his duties or had lost his qualifications. Hence the Emperor had almost unlimited control over the membership of the Senate, and consequently a predominant influence in its deliberations. Furthermore, the decrees o fthe Senate were subject to the Emperor's veto. It is easy to understand how these facts made the Senate but little more than a figure-head, and the Emperor the real head of the nation. It should be observed, however, that an

Emperor must keep the confidence and submission of the army and the Roman populace if he was to be able to control the Senate, for the moment he lost these basal elements of his power he fell under the dominance of the Senate, as happened the case of Nero. The offices of consul and tribune, which were the supreme positions of the State in the time of the Republic, were now little more than empty prizes of honor to be bestowed by the Emperor upon his favorites. The Roman government of the first century was an absolute monarchy in everything but name.

(2) *The Provincial Government.* Never were conquerors more cruel in their methods of conquest nor more rigid in their demands for submission, and yet seldom have there been those more generous and wise in their mode of administration among the conquered, than were the Romans. A vanquished state was allowed to retain its own laws and customs, and even sometimes its own rulers, in so far as these were compatible with the rule of Rome. A few fundamental laws, necessary to the supervision of the Empire and the welfare of the conquered territory, were imposed upon all subject nations, but as far as the original machinery of government was in harmony with these it was retained.

The provinces had come into the possession of Rome in various ways. In the days of the Republic some had joined by voluntary alliance. Others had been peacefully annexed from time to time. But the great majority of the dependent states had been conquered by the invincible Roman legions, and annexed by military force.

A few of the provinces were ruled by vassal kings, who accepted the suzerainty of Rome and paid a stipulated tribute, as was the case with the Herods of the New Testament. In most instances, the ruling official was a Roman governor, appointed directly from Rome, either by the Senate or the Emperor, owing to the status of the province. The duty of the governor was to keep the province under subjection to Rome, collect taxes, and administer justice wherever Roman law was concerned. Violaters of local enactments were tried by local courts. In case the defendant was a Roman citizen he might appeal to the imperial court at Rome. It was under this law that Paul was able to appeal to Caesar.

There were two kinds of provinces. The *senatorial* provinces were those whose governors were appointed by the Senate, subject to the approval of the Emperor, such as Achaia, Macedonia, Asia, Cyprus and Crete. Their governors were called "proconsuls." The *imperial* provinces were under direct control of the Emperor, and their governors were his representatives. In the larger or more important imperial provinces the governor was one who had been a member of the Senate, and was known as a "proprætor," while the smaller provinces were governed by "procurators" of the equestrian rank. To the latter class belonged the province of Judea; hence Pilate was a procurator. In popular parlance the term "governor" was loosely applied to any provincial ruler. Among the imperial provinces of the first century were Pamphylia, Galatia, Cilicia, Syria and Judea.

Within the provinces there were often settlements of Roman citizens, frequently of veteran soldiers, known as "colonies." These were usually established at the site of some city already in existence. To such settlements belonged not only the city, but a considerable area of the surrounding country. In government these colonies were practically duplicates of imperial Rome—they were "little Romes." Among the Roman colonies of the first century those familiar to the New Testament student were Caesarea, Lystra, Antioch of Pisidia, Troas, Philippi and Corinth. There were also cities which were granted special privileges and the independent administration of their local government in recognition of some distinguished service which they had rendered to the Empire, or because of their civil status when conquered. These were known as "free cities." Thessalonica was of this character. We have noted above (page 81) several in Palestine.

(3) *Taxation.* Beginning early in the reign of Augustus Caesar, at intervals of fourteen years, a census of the Roman Empire was taken for purposes of taxation. Such a census was the occasion of the visit of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem at the time of the birth of Jesus, probably 8 B. C. The chief source of revenue was land tax, but there were many forms of personal and special revenues, even to the taxing of old bachelors. The revenues may be divided into two classes, customs and taxes. The customs, which were duties charged on various

commodities and facilities, were collected under the supervision of the local government. Through agents selected from among the people of a province these customs were gathered and remitted to the official representative of the Empire. Taxes on property and person were no longer farmed out, as formerly they had been, but were collected under the direction of Roman officials. Revenues were paid in either money or produce. The taxes of Egypt were chiefly paid in grain; those of Palestine in coinage.

The bulk of the revenues was spent in the administration of the local government and in public improvements and facilities. They were also used for repairs and reconstruction in case of earthquake, fire, or other disaster. A considerable balance was sent to Rome. Revenues from the senatorial provinces went into the treasury of the Senate, and were used to defray the expenses of that body and for the administration of the province of Italy. The imperial provinces remitted to the Emperor, and provided for the improvement and administration of government in the city of Rome, the support of the army, and the personal expenses of the Emperor.

(4) *The Army.* There was no more familiar object in the first century world than the Roman soldier. Soldiering had become in practical reality a profession. After a twenty-year period of enlistment the soldier might retire from active service, but he was still regarded by the Roman public as a soldier, and as such was quite an influential individual. We have seen how the military forces, with the Emperor at their head, held the Empire in their power. Hence we may say that the very foundation of Roman rule was the army. So military life was a prominent and impressive feature of the Graeco-Roman world. This fact is recognized and utilized by Paul in his frequent illustrations and allusions involving the soldier, with his equipment and experience.

Only two matters of detail concerning the army need detain us here.

a. It is well that we should consider its *composition.* The Roman army consisted of two classes of troops, the legions and the auxiliaries. The legions were made up of Roman citizens, or provincials who were so thoroughly Romanized as to be

practically eligible for citizenship. The auxiliaries were recruited entirely from the provinces, but when an auxiliary had served his full term of twenty-five years, and had received an honorable discharge, he was thereafter recognized as a Roman citizen. It was the custom not to use auxiliary troops in their native province, which was doubtless a precautionary measure in case of rebellion—such being, however, a very remote possibility through most of the Roman Empire. The auxiliaries were under the command of officers from the regulars. Each legion was made up of ten cohorts, and a cohort of six companies, or *centuries,* of one hundred men each. Thus a legion had approximately six thousand soldiers in it. The auxiliary troops were organized into regiments, differing considerably in number. Connected with each legion was a small cavalry of one hundred and twenty Roman horsemen. Cavalries of much larger numbers were recruited from the auxiliaries.

In addition to the regular legions and auxiliaries there were special units of varying size assigned to some special duty, such as the Imperial Guards and City Guards at Rome.

b. As to *support,* the salary of a private soldier was about forty dollars a year, which, in comparison with remuneration in other vocations of the time and considering other items of support which he received, was a very reasonable wage. The food rationed out to the private soldiers was very plain and of limited variety. We may consider it true, however, that the Roman soldier was adequately supported, though nothing was wasted on him. He received very rough treatment and little humane consideration until he was elevated to the position of an officer, if he might ever be so fortunate. Nevertheless, the romantic appeal of such a career, the extraordinary thrills which it held in prospect, and the high honor attaching to the position in the popular mind, made vast numbers enter upon the life of a soldier by voluntary choice.

(5) *Rome and Religion.* The Roman Empire recognized the value of religion, and fostered the worship of the national gods. When the native religion was seen to be declining, a diligent effort was made to restore it to its pristine glory in the eyes of the Roman populace. The imperial government readily paid out large sums of money for the promotion of the local Roman worship. But this interest was purely utilita-

rian. There was not in the imperial circles any devout interest in religion as such; that is, interest was not promoted by a pure spirit of worship—it was not a matter of personal devotion to God or gods. What sincere worship there was had as its object the favor and co-operation of deity in promoting the interests of the state. In so far as the emperors believed in gods, their primary religious concern was to enlist the gods as allies of the Empire. This was a natural inference from the primitive conception that religion was a national affair and the gods a national asset. Consequently, to the Roman religion was but one of the servants of Rome. The supreme interest of the Roman government was the progress and prosperity of the state, and religion was just one of the factors employed for that end. If any religion failed to serve that end, the Emperor was indifferent toward it; for a religion to appear unfavorable to that end brought down the imperial wrath upon it. The knowledge of this fact enables one to understand much better the attitude of Rome toward Christianity.

Nevertheless, Rome was remarkably tolerant toward all foreign religions, considering the state of enlightment at the time. But the imperial policy toward religion was purely one of tolerance, and not religious freedom. In his vigilance for the best interests of the state the emperor guarded the developments in religion as he did in evrey phase of life. No religion could hope to attain large success and at the same time escape very long the notice of the government. "The State, in fact, claimed the right to decide what gods might be worshipped, and although it did not trouble itself about a man's private opinions, it prescribed the objects of public adoration, and from time to time insisted on due reverence being paid to them." (Foakes-Jackson: *History of the Christian Church to A. D. 461*, p 45.). In execution of this policy the religions of the Empire were placed under two classifications, known as *religio licita* (licensed worship) and *religio illicita* (non-licensed worship). A religio licita had the recognition and, if necessary, the protection of the government. On the other hand, the religio illicita was not granted state recognition or state protection. It must not be supposed, however, that such a religion was considered as illegal, or outlawed by the state. It was not illegal but non-legal, outside

the limits of Roman affairs. It might persist indefinitely, and its devotees might eagerly promote its worship, but so long as it gave no evidence of menacing in any way the unity or peace of the Empire, Roman officials made no effort to molest it. Christianity was a religio illicita, but at the beginning was regarded by Rome as simply a new development within Judaism, which was a religio licita. Hence through the early decades of its history Christianity escaped the notice of the Roman government. The earliest persecution, that by Nero in A. D. 64, was the personal whim of a capricious monarch rather than a settled imperial policy. But by the time of Domitian, Christianity had attained to such prominence and numerical strength that fears began to arise that it would eventually imperil the integrity and perpetuity of the Empire, so that what had been merely a non-legal religion became an outlaw religion.

The Roman Emperors

The design of this discussion makes us concerned here with only the character of the emperors in the first century, and their contact with the history of New Testament Christianity. We shall therefore mention them in chronological succession and note briefly their relations to the course of first century Christian history.

(1) *Augustus Caesar* (31 B. C. to A. D. 14). After the establishment of the republic Augustus was the first Roman leader who succeeded in making secure for any length of time his place as ruler of the Roman people. Experience with their rulers in their early history had made the word king unbearably obnoxious to the Romans, so that they would not tolerate any intimation of an ambition for a crown on the part of their leaders. Even when Augustus did arrive at a secure position of supreme power, he was careful not to accept the odious title king, but insisted that he be known as "imperator," the Latin term which has been corrupted into our word emperor, and which denoted commander-in-chief of the military forces. We may observe by the date limits of his reign that Augustus was in the imperial office when our Lord was born in Bethlehem. His name is specifically mentioned in Luke 2:1. It was he who appointed Herod as king of Judea. After the death of Herod, Augustus divided the Palestinian kingdom between the

three sons of Herod, though later he deposed and banished Archelaus, placing Judea in the hands of a procurator. Augustus was the greatest of the Roman emperors, and one of the greatest statesmen of all time. He secured in the Roman world the reign of peace, the renowned *Pax Romana*, and in a very significant sense prepared the way for the phenomenal spread of the Christian religion.

(2) *Tiberius* (A. D. 14 to 37). Tiberius gave promise in the beginning of his reign of becoming a ruler like unto his great predecessor, but after a few years he lapsed into a policy of cruelty and despotism. It was he who appointed Pontius Pilate as governor of Judea. The long administration of Pilate in Judea was due, not to his efficiency or popularity, but to a policy of Tiberius in dealing with his governors. He considered it better to permit a governor to retain a long term of office, on the ground that, under these circumstances, there would not be so great a temptation to plunder and rob his subjects in order to enrich himself during a brief term of office. Tiberius was to the time of his death the admiring patron and protector of Herod Antipas. Agrippa I. incurred his displeasure and was banished by him at one time, and cast in prison in chains at another. Christianity had gained so little prominence during his reign that it is hardly possible it could have been noticed by him. Tertullian's reference (*Apol.* 5) to a proposal of Tiberius to the Senate that they recognize Christianity as among the *religiones licitae* is hardly to be accepted as based on authentic tradition.

(3) *Caligula* (A. D. 37 to 41). This was one of the most cruel and profligate of the Roman emperors. He was a bigot and a despot. The Jews of Alexandria, suffering from an outbreak of the Gentiles against them, appealed to Caligula for redress, but received only insults in response. He took seriously the artificial ascription of deity to the Roman emperors, and conceived a fanatical notion that he was in sober reality a god in human form, and determined to secure worship for himself throughout his realms. Emperor worship had begun with Augustus, but had never been promoted by any such extreme measures and fanatical demands as those adopted by Caligula, and never before nor after with any such insane egotism. The pagan inhabitants of Jamnia in Judea built an

altar and instituted in this town of chiefly Jewish population the worship of the emperor. The Jews protested, and in reply to the protest Caligula ordered his image to be placed in the Temple at Jerusalem, and was dissuaded from the rash act of sacrilege only by the importunate intercession of Agrippa, who was in Rome at the time, and quite intimate with the Emperor. It was Caligula who restored the fortunes of the long ill-fated Agrippa, and reinstated him in the imperial favor, granting him a kingdom. He banished Antipas, and added his realms to the domains of Agrippa. Caligula met death by assassination.

(4) *Claudius* (A. D. 41 to 54). Claudius was a weakling in body and mind, but in spite of this his reign was one of prosperity, and in its earlier years one of peace. It embraced the greater part of Paul's missionary activities, and kept the world orderly while Paul preached to it. This was of course quite an unconscious contribution on the part of Claudius. He became the friend and patron of Agrippa I., conferring upon him the title of king, and granting him the control of most of the territory originally included in the domains of Antipas and Philip, as well as the former province of Judea. In the year 52 he became offended at the Jews of Rome, probably because of agitations among them over Christianity, and drove many of them from the city, among whom were Aquila and Priscilla.

(5) *Nero* (A. D. 54 to 68). This monarch holds the unenviable distinction of having been the most despotically cruel of all the Roman emperors. Prompted by motives of abject selfishness, he had a large portion of the city of Rome burned A. D. 64. So strong was the revulsion of popular feeling that Nero began to fear for his personal safety, and to turn suspicion away from himself he accused the Christians of the crime. A most cruel persecution broke out. "Nero lent his gardens for the purpose of exhibiting the tortures of the wretched victims, and at night he illuminated his grounds by the flames of the burning Christians." (Foakes-Jackson: *op. cit.*, page 50). This persecution was at first local, but later spread in fitful outbreaks to other parts of the Empire. It was during this persecution that Paul and Peter met martyrdom. Nero was the Emperor who first prosecuted the war for the suppression of the Jewish revolt in Palestine. He came to a tragic end. So

unpopular did he become that he was condemned by the Roman Senate, and he knew this verdict could stand, for they had with them almost the unanimous sympathy of the people. In his disappointment and chagrin Nero took his own life.

(6) *Galba, Otho, and Vitellius* (A. D. 68 to 69). After the death of Nero confusion reigned in Rome for the space of three years. Three generals of Roman armies in rapid succession seized the throne, each having it wrested from him by his successor and forfeiting his own life as the price of his ambition.

(7) *Vespasian* (A. D. 69 to 79). Finally Vespasian, commander of the Roman legions in Syria and Judea, was proclaimed Emperor by his army, the strongest in the Empire at that time, and succeeded in establishing himself in the imperial office. He had been for some time engaged in war with the Jews, and after coming to the throne sent his son Titus to put down the rebellion. Titus captured and destroyed Jerusalem A. D. 70.

(8) *Titus* (A. D. 79 to 81). The reign of this Emperor, the son of Vespasian referred to above, was short and peaceful, and without any further connection of importance with Christian history.

(9) *Domitian* (A. D. 81 to 96). In Domitian we have a combination of administrative ability with tyrannical cruelty. The early years of his reign were fairly mild and peaceful, but his unpopularity increased and augmented his thirst for blood. In the beginning he paid little attention to the Christian movement, but in later years, especially the last two of his reign, he pushed the persecution of the Christians with unrelenting ferocity. Early tradition reports that during this period of persecution John the Apostle was exiled on the Isle of Patmos and wrote Revelation. It is possible that near the beginning of his reign (85-90) the book of Hebrews was written. According to ancient tradition the Apostle John died just after the close of the reign of Domitian, bringing to a close the period which we denominate the Apostolic Age.

CHAPTER VII.

GREEK CULTURE

As one proceeds with a review of the history of New Testament times he cannot fail to be impressed with the frequent recurrence of Hellenism as a factor in so many phases of first century life. In fact, there does not appear a feature of the Mediterranean world in this period which was not affected by Greek influence. Even Judaism, with its rigid exclusiveness and fanatical loyalty to its own ideals and culture, was not able to escape the permeating effects of Hellenism. It appears quite evident that one fails utterly to grasp the situation in which New Testament life originated unless he discerns the presence and force of Greek culture. It had shaped and was dominating the intellectual life of the day.

The entire first century world went to school to Hellas—and the world has not yet quit going to school to Hellas. The greatest single intellectual influence which has ever been exercised over the thought life of mankind was Greek culture. The world has found it best to worship with the Jew, to govern with the Roman, and to think with the Greek; a threefold heritage which was combined and perpetuated by the unparalleled spiritual vitality and breadth of a movement which issued from the mind and heart of the Galilean Teacher. The Jewish worship has without doubt been the supreme benefit, but it failed to prove effective until it was universalized and rationalized by the effects of Greek culture. When the old wine-skin of Jewish legalism proved insufficient, the new wine-skin of Greek thought offered a ready receptacle for the spiritual gospel of Christ.

Language and Literature

In the creation and dissemination of Greek culture, the language and literature were naturally the most conspicuous instrumentality, though not the most effective, for this distinction must be accorded to the Greek mind itself, with its superior qualities and its unrivaled philosophy. The Greek language was one of the truly great developments of antiquity. Its known history stretches far into the past, being fairly clear

as far back as a thousand years before the Christian era. The epic poems ascribed to Homer originated certainly not later than 800 B. C. From this point the stream of Greek literature gradually widens into the flood-tide of the classical period, the products of which are represented in an abundance of writings which have survived to our time. But what we call "classical" Greek literature represents but one dialect of the language, the Attic Greek. Though Attic was the only dialect which produced literature of any consequence, and was the most highly developed in linguistic finish, yet there were several other dialects of Greek, contemporary with the Attic, which were of importance because of their effects upon the subsequent developments of the Greek tongue.

As the several Greek tribes, who in earliest times lived quite seperate lives behind the natural barriers which surrounded them, came into closer relationships though trade, religion, war, and other causes, there began the inevitable process of amalgamation between the different dialects. This blending process reached its culmination in the period of Alexandrian conquest. In the armies of Alexander, Greeks from various tribes were brought together in intimate contact, which caused them to seek a common means of communication by modifying and combining dialectical variations to form a common language. The basis of this common, or Koiné language was the Attic dialect, the ancient literary language of the Greeks.

This Koiné language was planted by the armies of Alexander wherever they extended their conquests. In a few generations the entire eastern Mediterranean world was using Greek as the chief means of communication. When the Romans conquered the Greeks, they carried the Greek language back to the west with them, as a result of which Greek became the literary, and to a large extent the spoken, language of the entire Graeco-Roman world of the first century. It was the current tongue in Egypt, had penetrated as far east as the Mesopotamian valley, still held supreme sway on its native heath of Asia minor and the Achaean peninsula, and prevailed in Italy—even in Rome itself. In Western Europe and North Africa, though Latin was still widely used, Greek had been introduced and was the language of the cultured classes.

This universal language was waiting as a ready instrument of the Christian message when it began its westward progress. And a marvelously effective instrument it was. Koiné Greek is without doubt the most richly and accurately expressive language which history has known. Its possibilities of subtle distinction in the expression of thought are vast, and the writers of the New Testament were remarkably adept at using the finer capacities of the language. It is certainly no exaggeration to maintain that the Greek New Testament is the most richly expressive text in all human literature, and this fact is in no small measure due to the character of the language in which it is written.

It is important, however, that we understand that the New Testament is not, strictly speaking, a literary product. That is, it was not written as literature, but as a practical means of securing on a single given occasion certain religious and moral objectives. It is clear to the competent Greek student that the text of our Greek Testament is not in the class with the pedantic efforts at classical exactness exhibited by the Hellenistic writers of the time. There is another group of writings, which for the past century or more have been rapidly coming to light, to which the New Testament belongs. These are the papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions.

The papyri are fragmentary texts, found chiefly in the dry sands of Egypt, where they have been preserved for centuries. They consist of a material roughly similar to our paper, called papyrus. This writing material received its name from the substance out of which it was manufactured, for it was made from the papyrus-plant, a reed which grew by the water's edge in the warm climates. Thin strips were cut from the pith or the papyrus-plant, these strips placed side by side in a layer, another layer placed on them at right angles, the whole dampened with a preparation similar to glue, and pressed into a thin sheet. This was placed in the sun to dry, after which it was smoothed off on the side where the strips ran horizontally. The papyrus sheet was then ready for use. It was customary to write only on the side where the fibers were horizontal, but in cases of emergency or poverty the rough side was also used. If one wished to write a document of considerable length, he purchased a suffcient number of papyrus

sheets, pasted them together at the edges, making a long strip, and wrote along this strip in narrow columns. When his document was complete he rolled it into a scroll. In this way probably the great majority of our New Testament books were written. Remains of these papyri from the first and adjoining centuries have been found in vast abundance. They consist of letters, receipts, contracts, legal documents, etc., just those forms of written material which reflect the common habits and common language of the people in their everyday lives. There is none of the deception of literary artificiality here; they open the door right into the living-room of Graeco-Roman society. For an understanding of the life and language of the New Testament they are of incalculable value.

The ostraca are the fragments of broken jugs or earthenware—potsherds, they are also called—upon which brief written texts have been scratched with a pointed instrument. They contain letters, receipts, memoranda, etc. The ostraca were used by those too poor to buy papyrus, or those who found it inconvenient to secure papyrus, or did not regard the matter to be written as of sufficient moment to justify the expense of papyrus.

The inscriptions are epigraphs on tombstones, notices posted for civil purposes, or permanent markers of some description. Their evidential value has been found of great importance in historical criticism, but for a detailed study of the life and language of the New Testament they are much inferior in value to the papyri and ostraca. In fact, the order in which we have treated these three classes of ancient texts is the order of their importance in New Testament interpretation. They are commonly referred to as the "non-literary sources" of New Testament study.

It would be a serious mistake to leave the impression that the classical literature of the time is without value in New Testament interpretation, for this is far from true. The great writers of classical literature have preserved for us information which is indispensable. There are the ancient historians, such a Polybius, Strabo, and Plutarch among the Greek writers, and Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, Suetonius among the Latin writers, from whom we get the general political and social picture of first century life. They give us the larger out-lines of the world

in which Christianity originated. From them we learn the general progress of events in the history of which the New Testament is a part. Then there are the Latin poets and essayists, including such names as Plautus, Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Pliny, and Juvenal, who provide us with valuable evidence bearing upon the details of social and personal life, though not so valuable as that derived from the non-literary sources, because not so spontaneous and unaffected. Sometimes the picture is purposely drawn by the writer, where he colors it to suit his design in writing. It is where the life of the times is incidentally reflected that their evidence is of most value. Though not all this literature is directly the product of Greek culture, it all sprang from a soil in which Greek culture was the chief component.

Education

Not until the dawn of the eighteenth century do we find a higher state of intellectual activity and enlightement than that presented in the Graeco-Roman world at the beginning of the Christian era. As fine a type of scholarly research and investigation was carried on in the first century world as we know today, the chief difference being that their facilities were not nearly so numerous or effective as those at the command of modern scholarship. Surely we may safely say that the intellectual comptency was as great and the effort as eager and diligent. The age produced several whom we may justly call scholars.

(1) *Educational Progress.* Scholarly effort had attained some really remarkable achievements. The development of Greek culture along scientific lines was far more advanced than the modern student has usually realized. Three centuries prior to the New Testament period science had found in Aristole one of the greatest exponents its history has ever known. He had emphasized the inductive method in reasoning, which is the basal principal of modern science. The geological theories of Strabo excite the admiration of moderns, the histories written by Tacitus and Livy are highly valued sources of modern historical science, and the pedagogical methods of Quintillian are being applied in twentieth century education. The mathmeticians of Alexandria were making astronomical calculations

which varied but little from the standard results of modern astronomy. They had calculated with remarkable precision the distance of the sun and moon from the earth, and had posited the theory that the earth is round. Men had already discovered the power of steam, though unable to invent means for using it. However, machinery and mechanical engineering had reached a remarkably high state of development. "Hero of Alexandria is said to have constructed during the Apostolic age the first hydraulic engine" (Cobern: *op. cit.*, page 636). Surgery and medicine were remarkably well advanced for the times. The surgical instruments found in the excavation of Pompeii excited the admiration of even the modern surgeon. Diagnosis was crude and inaccurate, and sanitation all but unknown, but remedies for ordinary maladies were quite effectively used. There were various branches in the practice of medicine, with specialists in each. A seal belonging to the first century has been found bearing the name and title of an occulist. As a necessary auxiliary to the practice of medicine the science of pharmacy had been rather well developed . Art, though already on the decline, still excelled anything known to subsequent ages. This statement applies to painting, sculpture, and architecture, but these were not the only fine arts known to the first century. Music was also a well known and highly developed art. A large variety of musical instruments were used, and a system of musical notes had been devised.

From the viewpoint of the Romans, decidedly the most important lines of culture were literature and oratory. Schools for special training in these subjects were maintained. Writing was expensively carried on in all the more enlightened centers and books in vast numbers were produced. Scribes who had been specially trained for the task devoted themselves to the reproduction of manuscripts as a profession. The professional scribe was one of the most familiar figures in first century Graeco-Roman life. There were book-sellers—publishers we might call them—who employed several scribes at a time, either slaves or hirelings, to copy manuscripts for the market. Any home of means and culture had its own library, and wide research was a familiar exercise—in fact, with some, a pleasant pastime. Alongside literary interest there was a prevalent interest in public discourse. This interest, however, was

in many instances practical or commercial, for it was in the schools of oratory that preparation was given for the practice of law. In fact, it is probable that chief interest in such schools was on training as a lawyer. The practice of law was a fairly well developed and extensively pursued profession in the first century Roman world, hence special preparation must have been offered somewhere, and nowhere more likely than in the schools of oratory.

(2) *Educational Processes.* In the Graeco-Roman world teaching was a popular, honorable, and fairly profitable profession. Academic achievement was awarded recognition through distinctive titles, such as "philosopher," "doctor," "sophist." The education of the day was dominantly Greek. The literature of culture was Greek, the teachers were usually Greek, the method and material were Greek. Greek was the standard language in the educational systems of the day, though in some localities Latin was also used. The universities in which the Romans sought their higher education were all Greek. Cicero and Horace were trained in the university of Athens. There were also Greek universities located at Rhodes, Tarsus, Antioch, Alexandria, and Marseilles. Alexandria was the chief center of learning, having a library and museum in addition to the university. These univerties taught a variety of subjects, doubtless the most popular of which was philosophy. But instruction was also given in rhetoric or oratory, which included law, mathematics, including astronomy, medicine, geography, and botany. As has been observed above, in these lines of scholarship the first century was remarkably well advanced.

Of course it would be natural to expect that education would be begun as early as reasonable in childhood. Evidences from the papyri indicate that the education of children was regarded as of exceeding importance. Actual practice of course varied in every household, as it does in our own time, but the standard of the time demanded that the child should be properly taught. The extent and effectiveness of a child's education depended entirely upon the means and disposition of his parents. There was no provision made for education by the state. Hence there was a great deal of illiteracy, and not many had more than the bare rudiments of education. The

children were taught by a slave or a private tutor in the home where the financial status admitted of it, or were sent to the elementary schools which were conducted according to the demands of the locality and supported from fees paid by the parents, or, in rare instances, provided through the benevolence of a wealthy benefactor. Large numbers of children were gathered together in the school, and a sufficient number of teachers employed for their instruction. Most of the teaching was done by men, though women teachers were not unknown. It is certain that in at least a few instances women attained to a relatively high degree of scholarship. However, higher education was regarded primarily as a privilege of the male sex.

The children of a particular home were usually accompained to school by a slave or servant called the *pedagogos*. This servant also had general guardianship of the child's conduct until he came to maturity. Though, as noted above, higher education was all but entirely confined to men, this was not true of elementary education, for it is certain that girls as well as boys were sent to school. The curriculum of such schools generally consisted of three subjects, reading, writing and arithmetic. Books were used, and written exercised required, though no doubt the bulk of the instruction was oral.

For a child to become very far advanced in education required that the parents possess considerable wealth, which was not true of many parents. But any diligent and intelligent child who did have parents of sufficient means could attain to a degree of culture approximating our high school education. And while it is true that there was a great deal of illiteracy, yet, considering the fact that there was no system of public education provided by the state, culture was remarkably prevalent. In the light of all the evidence our conclusion must be that, in the Graeco-Roman world, the first century was an age of enlightenment.

Philosophy

By reason of its very nature Christianity is especially susceptible to the influence of philosophy. This has been true from its earliest stages of development, for it arose as a product of reflection, as an interpretation of certain facts of history

and experience. Historically, it began in the life and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth. Developments in the lives of his followers during his ministry and subsequent to it caused them to make extraordinary claims for his person and work. That is, in its very incipiency Christianity consisted of an interpretation of Christ and His Relation to Christian experience. Interpretation is essentially a rational process, a function of Reason. Therefore the Apostolic message made its original appeal to the intellect. It called for reflective contemplation. Whenever the gospel was preached it provoked thought and challenged comparison with the results of thought which had already been achieved. This fact brought the Christian message into immediate and intimate contact with the current philosophy of the Graeco-Roman World. Contact at such a vital point could not but have the most far-reaching and profound effects. The relation of Apostolic Christianity to its historical environment presents no feature of greater significance than its contact with Greek philosophy. Therefore it is highly important that the New Testament student should secure a comprehensive view, in historical perspective, of the philosophical developments which created the intellectual life of the first century.

The dawn of Greek philosophy appeared at Miletus, a Greek city in Asia Minor, at approximately 600 B. C. Crude in its beginnings, it made marvelous progress in the next three hundred years, reaching its zenith in Plato and Aristotle, two of the greatest thinkers humanity has ever produced. The history of Greek philosophy was marked by three phases of development—physical, ethical, and theological. As Angus correctly observes, this is "the natural order of man's progress, taking first the outward look, then the inner, and then the upward; or nature, man, God." (*Environment of Early Christainity*, page 174). These cannot properly be termed stages of development, even though they do appear successively in the order mentioned, but no clearly marked chronological divisions can be pointed out, for the three phases over-lap as to time. In fact, the theological interest came almost as early as the ethical, and the two developed side by side for several centuries. The

physical interest was never entirely lost, but was subordinated in the more advanced stages of development.

(1) *The Physical Aspect of Greek Philosophy.* In its ultimate origin philosophy arises from that faculty of the human mind which we denominate *wonder.* Man looks out upon his environment, upon the tangible world about him, and begins to ponder and question. Or, more technically stated, consciousness through the senses perceives its environment, and reason seeks to construct rational judgments. This effort to form an intelligent interpretation of environment is philosophy. In its simplest and most primitive form it naturally contemplates the physical order, the universe of tangible reality. The first world which the human mind discerns is the material world. So it is only normal that philosophy in the beginning should be naturalistic.

As the Greek philosopher looked out upon his physical environment, that which most impressed him was the fact of variety and change which was perpetually manifest; while at the same time there was an evident order, suggesting a permanent law of direction for this variety and change. Hence Change and Permanence in the natural world were the earliest problems of ancient Greek philosophy. The initial philosophic effort was to discover the underlying principle of Permanence, or the elemental basis of control in the natural order. Thus philosophy in its incipiency started straight toward God, and it seems strange to us, who bask in the full light of revelation, that it was more than two hundred years in arriving at anything approximating a clear conception of Him.

Thales, the pioneer of Greek philosophy, who was living at Miletus at about 600 B. C., thought he found the ultimate substance in water. Anaximander and Anaximenes were the pre-eminent followers of Thales. The former considered matter as ultimately originating from water and fire, while the latter maintained that the essential substance was air. To Heracleitus (536-475 B. C.) the basis of reality was fire. This was because Heracleitus was most deeply impressed with the fact of perpetual change, and fire is obviously the most radical and expeditious agent of change. As expressed in his own

words, "All things are exchanged for fire, and fire for all things, as wares are exchanged for gold, and gold for wares." He did not, however, regard change as a chaotic process, but as governed by an ultimate Law. Thus we may say that for Heracleitus fire was the *essence* of permanence and law the *principle* of permanence. At the opposite extreme from Heracleitus appeared the philosophy of Parmenides, who taught in Elea in South Italy, and who belonged to a group of philosophers known as the Eleatic School. He explained change by explaining it away, claiming that the appearance of change is but a delusion originating in the senses. It is only that men suppose the natural order to be changing. But the fact is, according to Parmenides, the natural world is unchangeable and immutable, the principle of permanence consisting in the fixity and individuality of the universe. The first effective approach to a really rational explanation of nature is found in the philosophy of Empedocles (490-430 B. C.), who regarded the permanent essence of physical being as consisting in four fundamental elements, earth, water, air and fire. And his theory was not purely materialistic, for he conceived of two invisible forces as controlling the world of tangible matter, love and hate. In this we have a clear ascription of ethical and spiritual significance to the cosmos, and a true and basal moral distinction. Another decidedly materialistic turn was given to Greek philosophy in the Atomistic School, of which Leucippus and Democritus were the chief exponents. They considered even the soul as composed of material atoms.

Without doubt the most important forward movement of this naturalistic group of philosophers was represented in Anaxagoras (500-429 B. C.), who proposed the hypothesis that mind was the permanent and controlling principle of the natural order. It was but a short step from this conception to the idea of one supreme intelligence, producing and governing the material universe. Thus even in its contemplation of nature, Greek thought began to perceive the image of the true God, whose incarnate revelation it was one day to have an important part in interpreting to the world.

(2) *The Ethical Aspect of Greek Philosophy.* The strictly ethical interest of philosophy first appears in Pythagoras (580-500 B. C.), the originator of Pythagoreanism, a system of

philosophy which endured for many centuries. He founded and promoted a fraternity of ascetics, who bound themselves by rigid rules to a life of temperance. The pervading spirit of indolence and indulgence which characterized the age caused the ethical emphasis, when it finally did dawn, to take an extreme form. To Pythagoras all life took on a moral and religious aspect. He was keenly sensitive to the ceaseless conflict between good and evil, and recognized the spiritual element in human nature and experience. In his explanation of the natural order he made number the fundamental reality, and consequently his physical philosophy was a mathematical system. Between this and his ethical philosophy there was little connection.

An entire chapter in the history of ethical philosophy belongs to the Sophists, who flourished in Greece in the fifth century B. C. The movement arose as an effort to supply for the Greeks a liberal education, thus being largely utilitarian in objective, as a result of which the teaching of philosophy became professionalized and commercialized. For nearly a century the Sophists maintained a practical monopoly on general education, and taught all the then known branches of higher learning. Because of this practical turn of their endeavor the Sophists became self-centered and mercenary, and the objects of severe censure among their contemporaries.

The Sophist movement came in with the breaking up of the old order of life, and the growth of the sense of individualism. It was in fact an important force in the promotion of the new individualistic and independent spirit. This individualistic interest became one of the most important elements in the world to which Christianity first made its appeal. The Sophists taught that arbitrary rules handed down by tradition cannot rightfully govern human life. A thing is right or wrong according to the light in which one may happen to view it. Every man has the inherent prerogative to decide for himself what is proper and just. Then he may employ whatever means or arguments he finds necessary to justify himself in the course of action preferred. To the Sophist there was no such thing as absolute truth, and hence no final standard of right and justice, so that one might choose any course of conduct which he desired and justify it with any argument which might

appear plausible. The philosophy of the Sophists was individualism run riot. Had it not been for the conventionalities which of their own merit persisted in spite of the Sophists, the movement might have wrecked Greek society. Nevertheless, the Sophist philosophy placed an emphasis upon the moral dignity of the individual which made a contribution of real value to the progress of Greek thought.

The one pre-eminent product of value which resulted from the Sophist movement was represented in the person and teaching of Socrates (470-399). Only in the sense that he was one of the philosophical teachers of the day can Socrates be called a Sophist. His ethical viewpoint and system, while it appropriated the best that was in Sophism, differed widely from the typical Sophists of his day. It is true, however, that he was influenced by them in the fundamental principle upon which he built his philosophy, that whatever is right is right in its own nature, and not merely because it has upon it the traditional sanctions of society. But he greatly refined this principle, and modified its application in actual practice. Socrates believed firmly in the validity of the individual conscience and the reality of final truth and justice, and urged that men live in accordance with their inner sense of right and the impressions of God's will, rather than in mechanical conformity with arbitrary laws. He differed radically from the Sophists in that he would not allow that expediency or policy should ever determine one's conduct. He died a martyr to this conviction. Socrates was far more interested in the affairs of human life than in the phenomena of the natural order. His attitude toward the material world may be described as sceptical, for he regarded it as possible to know but little about man's physical environment, and what little can be known as of secondary value. He despised and eschewed all temporal luxuries, and was indifferent even to what men ordinarily consider the common necessities of life. His slogan was, "Know thyself," and the end of such knowledge is virtue. Socrates believed that the supreme concern of life was finding out how to live aright. But the ultimate moral ideal had eluded the grasp of his thought, so that he seemed but vaguely to discern its reality. His life was a pathetic groping for the final truth about life and the soul. Socrates inaugurated a

search for the supreme expression of Good, which reached its beatific goal under the radiance of Bethlehem's star.

The philosophy of Socrates may be said to have presented two aspects, a theory of conduct and a conception of reality. These two aspects of his thought produced two lines of philosophical development which eventually came to be rather widely separated. The former found its most prominent representative in the Cynics and Cyrenaics, with their successors the Stoics and Epicureans respectively; the latter phase issued in the splendid philosophical endeavors of Plato and Aristotle. It is with the developments (or rather perversions) of Socrates' theory of conduct that we are interested in our consideration of ethical philosophy.

Socrates had regarded happiness and virtue as in some way closely related. Just what the relation was either was vague in his own thinking, or has been vaguely reported to us by his followers—most probably the latter. At any rate, there existed a confusion as to whether Socrates meant to teach that virtue is happiness or happiness is virtue. The Cynics took the former position, the Cyrenaics the latter. The originator of Cynicism was Antisthenes (b. 440 B. C.). The name Cynic, derived from the Greek word *Cynos,* meaning dog, was given to the school because of their flagrant disregard of conventional custom and decency. The Cyrenaics were so called because their founder Aristippus was a native of Cyrene.

The Cynics taught that the supreme good lies in pure and rational conduct, and the suppression of sensual desires. The least desire means the greatest happiness. Pleasure in itself is not condemned, but it is to be secured, not by getting all one wants, but by wanting only what one gets. The simplest possible form of life is encouraged. Hence the fewest possible ties with human society are to be maintained, and in his habits the individual is to keep himself separate from the world and as close to nature as possible. Decency and propriety had no claim on the Cynics. They regarded the conventional customs of society as an unjustifiable infringement upon one's liberty. The most conspicuous product of Cynicism was Diogènes, who renounced all social restraint, professed regard for nobody, had his only habitat in a tub, and even discarded his drinking cup as an unnecessary encumberance. Though Diogenes was

historically an extreme representative of the Cynics, he was logically a consistent product.

An advanced and more refined development of Cynicism appeared in Stoicism, which is considered as originating with Zeno, who lived 342-270 B. C. The Stoics urged endurance and self-restraint, but did not, like the Cynics, repudiate the conventions of society. Obligations were regarded by them as exceedingly sacred. In fact, to the Stoics duty was God, and practically the only expression of God with which they were concerned. Their theology seems to have been pantheistic, though in many of their statements an implicit monotheism appears. They departed from the transcendentalism of Plato, and taught a doctrine of divine immanence, but a divine immanence which went to the extreme of identifying God with creation and creation with God, so that Epictetus said of men that they were "fragments of God." Yet the God who pervaded all things and inhered in all things was believed to have had an original distinct personal existence. The power of volitional design was ascribed by them to Deity. The material world was thought of as the body; the Deity as its soul. (Cf. Zeller: *Outlines of Greek Philosophy*). But their theology was moral rather than religious in its interest. Obedience to God was not a matter of personal devotion, but a means of achieving virtue, and through virtue securing happiness and peace. Stoicism was a philosophy of conduct, with but slight religious aim or incentive. To them man must be and could be his own savior. Epictetus declares, as a divinely ordained principle, "if you wish good, get it from yourself" (*D.* :29). And again the same writer says, "you must exercise the will, and the thing is done, it is set right * * * * For from within comes ruin, and from within comes help" (*D.* 4:9). "What do you want with prayers," enquiries Seneca, "make yourself happy" (*Ep.* 31:5). Yet there was in the Stoic a sense of the moral incompetency of human nature, and of man's need of grace, for Seneca said: "No man is good without God. Can anyone rise superior to fortune save with God's help?" (*Ep.* 41:2). To the Stoic salvation consisted in the attainment of absolute virtue, which was regarded as the highest estate of human life. It was to be accomplished by the gradual suppression of all desires and the extermination of affection and emotion. Fidelity to duty was for the Stoic a grim determina-

tion to achieve virtue, rather than an unselfish response to the inspiration of need or conscience. In the ideal life of Stoicism the will was regnant and passion utterly eradicated. Since they knew God only in nature, the law of God was the law of nature; hence to live well was to live according to nature. The ethical goal of life was to renounce the usual cravings of human passion, and seek harmony with nature as interpreted by reason.

The Stoic must maintained absolute independence of all earthly conditions, and if escape could not be found in life, then it should be secured by self-inflicted death. The founder of Stoicism committed suicide, and many of his followers emulated his example. "This was not only a refuge from extreme distress, but they saw in it the noblest preservation of moral freedom, a step by which a man proved that he regarded life among things indifferent, and which he is justified in taking whenever circumstances make it appear to be more in accordance with nature that he should leave his earthly life than remain in it" (Zeller: *Outlines of Greek Philosophy.*) But the Stoic view of life is not to be thought of as one of abject selfishness, for they had a profound appreciation of the kinship of all men and of the duty of the individual to society as a whole. The duty of man to human society they placed above his duty to the state.

The pre-eminnent exponents of Stoicism were Seneca and Epictetus, contemporaries of Apostolic Christianity, and Marcus Aurelius, a Roman emperor of the second century. It probably did more to pave the way for Christainty than any other form of Greek philosophy, but it also propagated certain errors which Christainty had difficulty in correcting.

According to the view of the Cyrenaics, pleasure is the only real good, and hence the supreme concern of life is to secure from each passing moment the maximum of enjoyment, subordinating all else to this aim. To them enjoyment meant chiefly sensual pleasure, though not exclusively so. In his pursuit of this objective the individual is to be concerned only for himself, and to have regard for the interests of others only as their interests may advance his own.

This form of philosophy was given a more rational treatment by Epicurus (341-270 B. C.), the founder of the philoso-

phical system known as Epicureanism. He rejected moral law as such, and urged pleasure as the chief good, but the pleasure which he proposed was not so grossly sensual as that contemplated by the Cyrenaics, and virtue was approved as an important means to pleasure. Epicurus thus outlines his own position: "When we say that pleasure is the end, we do not mean the pleasure of the libertine and the pleasures of mere enjoyment, as some critics either ignorant or antagonistic or unfriendly suppose, but the absence of pain in the body and trouble in the mind. For it is not drinkings and revellings * * * nor tables loaded with dainties which beget the happy life, but sober reasoning to discover what must be sought and avoided, and why, and to banish the fancies that have most power over men's souls" (cf. Wenley: *op. cit.*, page 64). Even if virtue involves sacrifice or pain it is to be pursued if it eventually secures pleasure. But virtue which does not secure pleasure is worthless, for pleasure is life's one good. But Epicurean philosophy taught that a temperate and virtuous life would be found in the main the most pleasant life to live.

We need, however, to distinguish between theoretical Epicureanism and practical Epicureanism—the speculative views of the highminded philosopher and the actual conduct of his self-indulgent follower. As accepted and applied by the rank and file of its adherents, Epicureanism was employed as a philosophical sanction for the grossest forms of sensuality. In the first century world it was justly regarded as a synomym for moral corruption.

Thus pagan Greek philosophy, guided only by the uncertain instincts of conscience and the flickering light of reason, groped its way toward a state of life where true happiness might be found. Life as the fulfillment of a moral ideal was clearly seen by the best and purest minds, but the incentive and means for the attainment of that ideal remained an unsolved problem. Greek thought, though having no law, became a law unto itself (cf. Rom. 2; 14), but was forced to wait the advent of one who was Himself the perfect fulfillment of law and the supreme moral ideal, and who could provide the heart of man with a sufficient impulse to realize in his own experience the spiritual application of law.

(3) *The Theological Aspect of Greek Philosophy.* As we have seen, religion was not originally a concern of Greek philosophy. The ancient gods of the national religion were taken for granted, and philosophy concerned itself with man and nature. But theology was an inevitable outcome of philosophical advancement, for when the Greek mind began to penetrate the nature of reality it could but discover that the phenomena of the universe exhibit the presence of spirit as will as matter. The recognition of the two fundamental elements of mind and matter brought a primitive theology in by the side of the primitive science and ethics.

The earliest distinct traces of theological development in Greek philosophy appear in Xenophanes (572-480 B. C.). The distinct contribution made by Xenophanes to the history of religious thought was his protest against the polytheism and anthropomorphism of ancient Greek religion. He should doubtless he described as a pantheist, for he deified nature, elevating it to the place of a god. However, he approaches remarkably near to the monotheistic view, as is evident in his statement: "There is one God, the greatest among gods and men, comparable to mortals neither in form nor thought." It is to be observed how the apparent monotheism of this conception is modified by the phrase, "greatst among gods and men." But the monotheistic direction of the conception is obvious. In Parmenides, a successor of Xenophanes, we have an ancient example of strict materialism. With him tangible matter was the only form of existence, and it was regarded as unchangeable and indivisible. "Only being is; non-being is not and cannot be thought"—and to Parmenides being is identical with material substance. His materialism though could not be termed atheistic, but rather non-theistic, for he was unacquainted with any definite conception of one true God in antithesis to his materialistic views. Another approach to the idea of God appears in Heracleitus, one of the early naturalistic philosophers. He regarded the universe as in a perpetual state of flux and change, but maintained that this process of constant variation is rythmical and orderly. The unifying principle of permanence which secures this rythm and order he said was law. We cannot find that he ascribed to this self-governing Law any real qualities of personality, but

an Intelligent Director of nature lies but one step beyond his view. However, Heracleitus may, like Xenophanes, better be described as a pantheist than a theist. "God", he said, "is day and night, winter and summer, war and peace, hunger and satiety; but he takes various shapes just as fire, when it is mingled with different incenses is named according to the savor of each." The next step, that of finding unity and intelligence in the supreme direction of the universe, was taken by Empedocles, who declared: "Mind is the spell which governs earth and heaven." Anaxagoras held practically the same view. The evidence of order in nature impressed him, and he was unable to account for order independent of intelligence. Therefore Anaxagoras posited Reason or mind as the fundamental reality, whereby all else originates and is directed. A supreme volitional Reason is but another name for God. Hence Anaxagoras was practically a monotheist.

The second chapter in the theological development of Greek philosophy confronts us again with the name of Socrates. He was the first to supply definite ethical attributes to the idea of God. He believed that there were universal principles of truth and right, and that these principles found their ultimate embodiment in God, whom he regarded as the supreme object of worship and standard of duty. To his Athenian persecutors he declared, "I must obey God rather than you." In this statement, with its profound implications, there lies a conception of God which is marvelously similar to that of Judaism and Christianity. Socrates exhibited a genuine heart-hunger after a definite and dependable knowledge of God which was pathetic. He considered such knowledge the highest earthly possession. While on trial for his life he said to his judges, "And I think that no greater good has befallen you in this city, than my zeal for the service of God." Yet Socrates could hardly be strictly termed a monotheist, though many times, if Plato reports him correctly, he expressed views which appear to contemplate One True God. However, we should likely be more nearly in exact accord with Socrates' real conception if for "one true" we substitute "supreme", for apparently Socrates believed that of divine personalities there were many, but over all was a supreme and guiding Intelligence. In some instances his use of "god" in the singular

(Greek *theos*) appears to be generic, for gods in general. Thus we may not regard Socrates as in the strictest sense a monotheist, but in his theistic views an exalted place was given to the Supreme Good and Wisdom, a conception which advanced considerably beyond his predecessors.

The nearest attainment in Greek philosophy to pure monotheism is represented in Plato (427-347 B. C.). He believed that fundamental reality consisted in certain "Ideas", or Essences, of which tangible material objects are but the outline or shadow. The supreme Essence of the universe is Good. In some way, and the manner of it seemed to be rather vague to the mind of Plato himself, this supreme Good is identified with God. Plato's philosophy possessed a deeply religious vein. The supreme Good, which is the true God, was for him the apex of all being, and the goal of all endeavor. Only by the pursuit of purity and knowledge can one find God. Plato groped eagerly after that sublime truth, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." The conflict between the baser and better tendencies of human nature was recognized by him. He counted the soul as the supreme value of life, and believed it would persist beyond the grave. He emphasized the distinction between body and soul practically to the point of dualism. There was consequently a strong ascetic tendency in his philosophy, which subsequently produced results of importance to early Christianity. His incipient dualism exercised a great influence over the mind of Philo. In fact, though Plato lived three centuries before the dawn of the Christian era, he was a powerful factor in the thought life of the first century world.

Far less influence was exerted on the theological developments of New Testament times by the philosophy of Aristotle (384-322 B. C.). Nevertheless, he should be accorded a place in this discussion if it is to be complete. Aristotle was in a truer sense a scientist than any other of the ancient Greek philosophers. He was concerned primarily with facts as they are, and had little of the practical or sentimental in his intellectual constitution. He was rather a materialist as compared with Plato. Yet he believed in spirit, and in God as the Supreme Spirit. Aristotle was a monotheist, but providence had no place in his philosophy. And yet he conceived of God

as the acme of perfection and the supreme end of all being. At least we must regard it as true that Aristotle helped to stabalize the varying monotheism of pre-Christian times in the Hellenistic world, and he is accredited by some with considerable influence over developments in Christian theology. His followers were called the Peripatetic School of philosophy, due to the habit of Aristotle to walk about as he taught (from Greek, *peripateo*, "to walk about").

Two other philosophical developments in the background of the New Testament are to be noticed. These are the sceptics, who denied that there is any real knowledge, unless it be that given by the physical senses, and even that is not perfectly certain, and the Eclectics, who effected a syncretism of Greek philosophy and Oriental mysticism, selecting and combining elements from practically every current school of thought. Even the Sceptics made a negative contribution to the preparation for Christianity by calling attention to the futility of the effort of unaided human reason to attain final and absolute knowledge. Especially significant was their exposure of the necessary fallacies in the prevalent conception of Deity. Many of their criticisms of the current philosophers of the day were unanswerable. This created a demand in the first century mind for a message of revelation from the Supreme Reason, a word of final and absolutely dependable wisdom. Eclecticism affected Christianity chiefly in its promotion of the tendency to combine elements from divergent systems of thought. This offered to Christianity an entrance into the thought of the time, but, on the other hand, the reaction of this tendency on early Christian theology produced the first heresies, conspicuously Gnosticism. It also prepared the first century mind to consider favorably the approach of the Christian gospel.

The most conspicuous contribution of Eclecticism to the religious life of the first century was in the person of Philo, the great Alexandrian Jew, and the greatest philosopher of his age. He was born about 20-15 B. C., and died about A. D. 50. Thus his life traversed the entire period of the life of Jesus, and much of that of Paul. In view of this fact it is a little strange that Philo gives no indication anywhere of any contact or acquaintance with Christianity. Very little is known about

the detailed events of his life, all of which was spent in Alexandria. He apparently lived a very simple life, never having become a conspicuous public figure. His family was wealthy and very prominent in the Jewish life of Alexandria, his brother being ethnarch of the Jewish colony, holding this office under the Roman Government. Philo was favored with extraordinary educational opportunities. Alexandria was a place of many Greek schools—a university after the European style. In these schools Philo probably received excellent training, and performed his part as a teacher.

Though a Jew, Philo was an enthusiastic admirer of the philosophic thought of Hellenism. He was a typical Eclectic philosopher. True to the Eclectic method, he sought to set forth the teachings of Moses and the traditions of Israel in the terms of Greek philosophy. The supreme passion and effort of his life was to form a synthesis of Greek philosophy and Jewish religion, but with chief emphasis on the latter. "Philo's chief aim. . . is to demonstrate the universal validity of Jewish religion as enshrined in the Old Testament, and *par excellence,* in the Pentateuch" (Kennedy: *Philo's Contribution to Religion,* page 31). His writings exhibit great deference for the Law. But he seeks to go beneath the ritualistic surface of the Law, which through Pharasaism held Palestinian Judaism so firmly in its grip, and to discern its deeper spiritual implications. The aim and idea of Philo in dealing with the Law were laudible in the highest degree, for he sought to discover a fundamental religious import which he believed lay within its formal precepts. His failure resulted from the method which he employed. He resorted to what is known as the allegorical method of interpretation, by which he took Old Testament history out of its literal setting and gave it a symbolic, philosophical significance. Philo devoted but little atention to the prophets, though he breathed quite freely in their spiritual atmosphere.

Philo was not merely a philosopher, but a man of most profound religious interest. In fact, religion constituted the basis of his philosophy. He was an intense mystic, and endowed with a marvelous degree of spiritual discernment. Often his religious conceptions approached remarkably near to Christian ideas. But we must beware of fitting Philo into

the catalog of Christian theology, and defining his views of distinctly Christian terms, which in reality have in their content of meaning much which was never within the borders of Philo's thinking.

The most effective approach to a comprehension of Philo's religious views is a study of his Logos doctrine. A chief tenet of his theology was the utter transcendence of God. He regarded the nature of the Deity as unapproachable and incomprehensible by man. Hence there was the need of some means of mediation, if man was to secure contact with God. This mediatory element was furnished in the Logos. The exact character of the Logos was probably never defined in Philo's thinking. His representations of the idea oscilliate between a mere devine influence on the one hand, and personality—or at last personification—on the other. His view of the mediatorial function of the Logos canot be mistaken. His formulation of the Logos doctrine was not a mere convenient theory of pholisophical speculation, but a necessity growing out of his own religious experience. It was an effort to secure logical harmony between his own intensely mystical nature, and his belief in the transcendence of God, a view inherited from both Judaism and Platonism. His heart hungered for fellowship with God, whom he believed it impossible for his sinful soul to reach, so he seized upon the idea of the Logos, already formed in the religio-philosophical mind of his day, and found in it a satisfactory means of assuring himself of peace and fellowship with God. "This is philosophy fired with religious emotion; it is a system in which reason gives way before a passionate desire for union with God" (C. H. Moore in Foakes-Jackson and Lake: *Beginnings of Christianity*, volume I, page 253). Just here lies the crux of Philo's religious experience and conceptions, and the chief means for an accurate understanding of him.

It is further necessary, in a proper interpretation of Philo, to recognize that his philosophy is not an independent product of his own mind, but the flowering of processes which were in operation in many minds before and during his day. He is a typical representative of Eclecticism, for he sought to form a syncreticism of elements selected from Greek philosophy, Oriental mysticism, and Jewish theology. In the realm of

Greek phiolosophy his conceptions bear genetic relations to Platonism, Pythagoreanism, and Stoicism. The effects of oriental mysticism reached him primarily through his own Semitic blood, but also through the dominant religious spirit of his age. The Old Testament and current Jewish theology furnished the material for his philosophical speculations.

Philo formulated and promoted a philosophic system which had a wide-spread influence in Hellenistic Judaism. It was undoubtedly some of the distant effects of this movement which Paul met in the last years of his life, and which form the background of his later epistles, Colossians, Ephesians, and the Pastorals. A knowledge of Philo is therefore important to a proper understanding of these New Testament books.

This discussion may properly close with a brief survey of the philosophical situation in the first century, that the student may see the whole in single perspective. The dominant philosophical system of the day was Stoicism. But the clectic tendency had exercised a strong influence over Stoicism, so that in it were many elements from other systems. Especially in the Roman mind was the eclectic tendency pronounced, for the process of selecting and combining was characteristic of Roman genius. Stoicism as a philosophical basis appealed to the Roman because of its emphasis upon duty and loyalty. But the more indulgent and passionate natures of the Graeco-Roman world were adverse to the restraints of Stoicism, and turned to Epicureanism as a more liberal form of philosophy, and at the same time offering the consolation of a rational plan for life. The Oriental mind found greatest satisfaction in Electicism, with Platonism as its chief basis. The form of this philosophy most interesting to the Christian student is Platonism. The confusion and uncertainty of these varying systems convinced many that there could be no final and dependable knowledge, therefore they resorted to Scepticism, the philosophy of probability. Such were the varying and conflicting currents of thought into which flowed that mighty stream of Christianity's message of redemption, destined to utilize the best of that with which it mingled, and to turn all into a common channel.

CHAPTER VIII

GRAECO-ROMAN SOCIETY

Life in the Roman world of the first century presented most of those features typical of the general average of civilized society. Those who could afford it were providing themselves with the luxuries and amusements which the world of their day offered, and seeking by every possible method to enhance the interest and pleasure of living. The poor were struggling to provide the bare necessities of life, and meet the excessive burden of taxation. Men were seeking intervention or promotion through the influence of friends in order to improve their lot in life; they were worrying over financial perplexities; they were manufacturing pretexts of religion or business to excuse themselves for absence from home and evasion of family obligations; they were practicing graft in places of public trust, and imposing upon their subordinates; they were fawning in servile homage before those in high official positions, and preparing for such high officers most extravagant entertainment. Young men drifted away from home, and squandered their substance in riotous living, or, remaining at home, overwhelmed their parents with debt by extravagance. On the other hand, love and loyalty, benevolence and service, found abundant expression in many beautiful lives. Parents nourished and cherished their children, who, in turn, honored and respected their parents. Neighbors offered sympathy and help to one another in times of distress; or, on the contrary, quarreled and purloined, even assaulting one another in physical violence, and appealed to officers of the law for redress.

Such is the vivid picture thrust before us by the papyri and ostraca. We see the men toiling diligently for an honest support, and providing as best they can for the necessities of those dependent upon them; or, sad to say, far more frequently we see them cringing under the dread hand of the law, as it menaces them in some evil which they thought securely concealed; having recourse to courts of the law to settle their disputes, or defrauding one another in defiance of the law; buying and selling goods with due caution against being cheated; and reproving agents and employees for failure to discharge their duties.

Of wickedness there was a shocking excess, especially in the upper stratum of society; and abject poverty prevailed on every side. But in the better class of the common people the simple practices and pastimes of ordinary life, as universally common to humanity, were in vogue. There were love of amusement, indulgence in curiosity, fondness for display, enthusiastic interest in competition, pursuit of popularity, and desire for social contact—elements of life which spring from normal instincts of human nature. Yet, though these facts were basal, there were characteristics of Graeco-Roman society which gave it a distinctiveness of its own. Our purpose here is to examine carefully its separate elements, that we may discern those distinctive characteristics.

The Home

Domestic conditions in the Graeco-Roman world were so varied that one finds it difficult to paint a single consistent picture. It is doubtless best simply to reproduce the various views which the sources afford just as they come to us, so that the impression upon the mind of the student may carry with it the wide range of differences which the life of the day actually presented. By way of interpretation, we may call attention to some features which we regard as typical. The evidences used have been derived from both the literary and non-literary sources, but the latter have been relied upon as giving the more accurate representation of the real facts.

(1) *The Material Comforts.* It is logical to contemplate first the structure in which the home was domiciled. The description cannot be exhaustive, but only suggestive, for plans of house building differed widely then as now. There were a few minor differences between the general style of home architecture in the East, where the Greek type prevailed, and the West, which followed the Roman style. Such differences however, must have been but slight, for there was reaction of the one type upon the other, and many characteristics were possessed in common by both. In this brief description our effort will be to furnish an adequate general impression, suggesting the points at which distinction should probably be made between Greek and Roman type. The houses of the better classes in the towns and cities of the western Roman world may be judged by those unearthed in Pompeii. Excavations on

the site of some of the Greek cities furnish us evidence of the typical home in the East.

Houses in the towns were ordinarily built of brick and concrete, of course with wooden fixtures and furnishings. Frame houses would be found among the poor in the suburbs and the rural districts. Stucco and sun-dried brick were widely used among the provincials, particularly in the East. Unlike the typical house in Palestine, the Graeco-Roman house had no windows opening on the street or highway. Commonly the large front entrance, composed of double doors, furnished the only access to the interior of a home. Rarely there might be one or more side entrances. The doors turned upon pivots, inserted in sockets in the lintel and threshold. Bolts, bars and props were used in making them secure against intrusion. Frequently the front door was equipped with a knocker. Before the door there was a small vestibule, open at the front, in which callers might wait for admittance.

Just within the main entrance was a large central court, ornamented and furnished as beautifully as the family could afford, and lighted from above by an uncovered skylight. This central court served as a reception room. Passing on beyond the central court, one came into the peristyle, another large, unroofed court, with rooms on either side employed for various purposes. Among the Romans, the rooms were usually comfortably large, but the tendency in the East was to make them very small. To the rear of this court would usually be found the "garden", or a space used as a dining room. In the Greek home the front court was confined largely to the use of men, while the women were to occupy the rear court. When there was a second story it rarely ever coveverd the entire lower floor, but was arranged only on those parts which furnished the most convenient foundation. In houses of the better type, the roof consisted of tile of practically the same composition as that which moderns use. The houses of peasants were probably covered with thatch, though of course no such remains could survive the passing of centuries and furnish their own evidence to modern times. The finish and ornamentation of the house would depend upon the means of the owner.

Houses of the middle class might consist only of one inner court, with rooms surrounding, or, in some cases, of two or three small adjoining rooms. Among the more humble residents, especially in the East, there were many houses which had built into them workshops and stores. Among the poorer classes in the rural districts one would find only rudely constructed cottages of one to three rooms. Of course the country houses of the wealthy were more elaborate, and were built according to any plan that might suit the fancy of the owner. In the metropolitan centers might be found numbers of tenement buildings, where one not able to own or rent a separate house might rent an apartment.

In the larger cities buildings sometimes arose to five or six stories in height. In Rome the limit on building altitude was set at seventy feet. But tall buildings were undoubtedly rare, because of the lack of material for construction and of the requisite knowledge in foundation laying. The great majority of the houses were one or two stories, more often one.

The furniture in a Graeco-Roman home was simple and scanty, as compared with the modern home. In kind, however, it was very similar to ours. There were the chairs, tables, beds, carpets and curtains, such as are familiar to us, but not nearly so many in number. It appears that the couch was the staple article of furniture in the first century household. It was the facilities for preparing and serving food which differed most from that which we know. The practice was to recline at meals on couches, usually arranged on three sides of the table, one side being left open for serving. The cooking was done on an open hearth, or in an earthen or stone oven. Lighting was secured from oil lamps, consisting of terra-cotta or metal urns, usually oblong in shape, with exposed wicks; or, in poorer homes, from wax or tallow candles. The evidence from the ruins of Pompeii is that plumbing and heating systems were quite well developed, baths and fountains were to be found in any of the better homes, and ornamental finishing of extraordinary beauty was provided. The walls were decorated with paintings of real artistic merit, and other decorative effects were used which are commended by the best artistic judgment of modern times. It is probable that Paul, in his extensive travels and wide acquaintance was sometimes enter-

tained in homes of surpassing beauty, though doubtless because of his lack of aesthetic interest, he mentions no such experiences.

In the average home of the common people the ordinary fare consisted of such food as bread, porridge of several varieties, fruit and olives, and bacon or sausage. Fish could usually be had in abundance and at small cost. As a beverage they used cheap wine diluted with water. The meals were served in dishes of coarse earthenware, with usually a silver salt cellar, which was regarded as an important article in the home.

(2) *The Family*. The average family of the Graeco-Roman world was not large. The birth-rate in the Empire had decreased to such an extent that it became a matter of imperial policy to offer special concessions to parents of three or more children, and it is probable that there was a tax on bachelors. The law regulating inheritance is said to have discriminated against bachelors and married men without children. Such laws, however, were probably not rigidly enforced. A comprehensive review of the domestic life of the first century, with all its features from various sources of evidence, convinces one that tragic abuse of these sacred relations was widely prevalent, and yet beneath the neglect and disregard was that deeper human impulse which sometimes asserted itself in tender and beautiful manifestations, awaiting the empowering touch of that inspiring and enlightening influence which should flow out to the Graeco-Roman world from Him who should reveal to the world the deeper divine meaning of Home.

That the society of the day was sensitive to the obligations of the husband and father to love and support his family is evident, but it is equally evident that this ethical standard was lightly regarded in many individual cases. It was certainly not at all uncommon for a man to squander his wife's dowry and forsake his home, abandoning it to the horrors of abject poverty in an uncharitable world, while he sought additional opportunities of gain and indulgence in some metropolitan center or fought his deserted wife's efforts at redress in the courts of the land; nor was the man always the offending party, for the records reveal instances of the wife deserting the home

and defrauding the husband. On the other hand, the ancient records also present instances of touching parental and conjugal loyalty and affection. There was the doting father, who lavished his affections upon his son so excessively that the youth becomes unbearably spoiled, presents an attitude of swaggering impudence, and is consequently a problem to his father and the despair of his mother. But there was also the father who could speak to his son with a tone of authority, and confidently warn him not to disobey. The records exhibit instances of genuine solicitude for the future welfare and moral rectitude of the child. Genuine conjugal affection is also revealed. In an inscription of the early second century a husband refers to his companion as "his sweetest wife." She is commended for living with her family for thirty years in affectionate devotion to her husband and children. This is but one example from a number of similar epitaphs, dating back to the time of primitive Christianity. A husband whose wife has for some reason departed for a season, reports to her his great grief at her prolonged absence, and his loss of interest in the routine of life. Another husband who is away from home at work assures his wife that when his wages are received they shall be sent promptly to her. A devoted wife writes to her husband about the sleepless nights she is spending in her anxiety for him, and insisting that he protect himself in every way possible as he confronts some iminent danger.

The love of the child for home and loved-ones finds unmistakable expression in the non-literary sources. Beautiful domestic sentiment is expressed in the letter of a daughter addressed "to her sweetest father", telling him that the reception of his letter conveying the information that he is well and safe has made her "very glad." A young man who is absent from home as a soldier writes in affectionate terms to his father, also expressing loving interest in other members of the household. Many years later the same soldier writes to a sister who still lives, exhibiting a beautiful tenderness of attitude toward the old home circle, and an admirable domestic situation in his own. Then another interesting, if pathetic, angle of human life appears when a prodigal son, who had left his mother as the result of an unfortunate estrangement, finally becomes penitent, and writes to his mother for forgiveness, telling her of his tragic plight of poverty and privation.

Quite different is another son's letter, of approximately the same period, expressing abounding appreciation and affection for his mother, reproaching his brother for neglect of her, and insistently though tactfully urging him to greater filial devotion. However, the same letter discloses a reckless disregard of maternal love and authority on the part of other sons in the same home. In another situation an ungrateful son refuses to come home, or even to write, leaving his old father to take care of the work on his farm alone, and his mother to grieve in despair. In the ideals of the time there was a high sense of the sacred significance of motherhood, but this ideal was all too often ignored.

In general, the position of woman in the Graeco-Roman world was relatively low. This was especially true among the Greeks and Orientals. We have already noted that in the Jewish home the wife and mother held a place of honor and respect. It is also true that in the Roman home she was accorded high consideration, though the relation between the Roman and his wife lacked that element of genuine affection and mutual sympathy which distinguished the Jewish home. But the typical Jewish or Roman home was exceptional in the world at large. The average man of the first century world looked upon his wife as little more than a necessary possession in life. She was expected to yield uncompromisingly to his will, to serve his pleasures, to stay in the home and rear his children, while he moved about the circle of society with some "mistress" of physical and intellectual charm, whom he had chosen as his real companion. It has become clear, however, from evidence given above, that such was not the status of the wife in every home, though we may be sure that it is correctly presented as the average. But it is refreshing to find the numerous exceptions, where tender devotion and constant faithfulness exist between husband and wife. This, however, is to be expected as the inevitable result of the normal impulses of human nature when rightly adjusted. In such homes Christianity must have found its most susceptible prospects. Divorce occurred with shocking frequency, but in divorce we find that the woman's rights were carefully safeguarded.

The child was very lightly regarded in the first century world. The infant was not considered as having any rights at

all. Parents were allowed to destroy a new-born babe, or cast it out to die of exposure, or be picked up by a chance passerby and brought up in slavery. The child was the chattel property of the father and might be sold by him into slavery. Nevertheless, it is extremely probable that the humane sensibilities of society and the natural impulses of parental love prevented any very prevalent exercise of such prerogative. But that there were all too many instances of such unnatural treatment of children is beyond possible question. The authority of the father over the child theoretically continued after the child was grown and married, though in practical fact, especially in the case of a male child, this authority certainly ceased to be exercised in most cases after he was grown. Usually there was a "day appointed of the father" (Gal. 4:2) when the son reached his majority and came into independent possession and control of his own affairs. This would normally be from twenty to twenty-five years of age, though in exceptional cases it might be younger. This policy of unlimited parental control was likely the residue of a primitive patriarchal system among the ancient Romans. When left to anything like its normal freedom of development, the life of the child was just such as has been typical of all children as far back as history knows the human race.

Economic Conditions

The Graeco-Roman world of the first century was slowly recovering from a state of serious depletion. Most of the countries embraced by the Empire had, for generations, been suffering from frequently recurrent wars of conquest or rebellion. Armies had over-run them and lived off their meagre resources. Then there had been exacted of them the inevitable booty of the victor. This process had left their material resources exhausted. The toll of life offered in hard-fought battles had diminished the man-power, leaving fewer who were able to labor at the tedious task of reconstruction. The returning soldiers, accustomed as they were to the thrills of military life and to governmental support, were ill-disposed toward the monotonous drudgery of earning a scant livelihood by poorly rewarded labor. Employment was scarce and slave-labor plentiful, which meant long hours and small

returns for the free workman. This offered scant inducement for aggressive effort, and fatally obstructed economic progress. Much idleness was forced upon the people, and, be it confessed, was not unwelcome, for the Greek or Roman, unlike his Jewish contemporary, placed no premium on honest toil. He regarded it as a thing to be avoided as far as possible. To do work of any kind placed one on a very low plane socially. Conversely, idleness was a badge of aristocracy. Many who had no wealth of their own contrived ways to secure the patronage and support of those who were possessed of large means. Luxury and idleness marked the pinacle of social achievement; to toil for one's material support was regarded as avery unfortunate lot in life.

As a result of these conditions the rich grew richer and the poor became poorer. The wealthy capitalists organized into syndicates, comparable to our modern trusts, and gorged themselves with riches, while the poor had scarcely the means of bare physical support. Of course this represents conditions in general. In spite of these difficulties, there were many who struggled on and attained to some measure of economic success, even though they had but little capital to operate on. These, however, were unquestionably exceptions. But it is also true that the Roman world was slowly moving toward a better material status, due to the reign of peace ushered in by Augustus, and a fairly complete economic system was in operation.

(1) *Commerce.* Commercial enterprise was almost as extensively pursued in the Graeco-Roman world of the first century as in our own modern world. Buying and selling were carried on in practically every commodity incident to human life. Roman coinage was the standard medium of exchange. Shops lined the streets of every town and city. Products of the soil were everywhere on the market. Agriculture was extensively pursued, the land being sometimes owned by the one working it, sometimes rented or leased. The rental was paid in either money or kind. Stockraising for commercial purposes was dealt in to a considerable extent. The fuller, the miller, the baker, the smith, the wine-seller, all appear in the commercial life of the day. Syndicates offered commodities in wholesale quantities, and retailers dispensed them to

consumers, often using rented quarters for their business. The principle of agency was a familiar commonplace, and was applied in a variety of ways. Systems of accounting and commercial records were employed, and a careful check was kept of property committed to the hands of an agent. The transfer of land from one party to another either in rental or sale, was certified and recorded in writing. Personal property could also be registered as a matter of permanent record with legal protection of property rights. From evidence of the papyri it appears that transactions of every kind were made matters of record. There were special officials whose duty it was to receive and preserve such records.

The lending of money was a familiar and widely prevalent enterprise. Small loans were made on property held in pawn, large loans were made from private capital, and undoubtedly much money lending was done through banks, comparable to those of modern times. The evidence of the ancient records is that the banking business was well advanced. Not only money-lending, but the refunding of loans, purchases, payments of leases or rentals, of dowries, taxes, and other financial transactions were made through the banks. "The bronze bust of Caecilius Jucundus, the banker of Pompeii, whose receipts and legal documents, carefully signed by nine witnesses, have come down to us from A. D. 15, A. D. 27, A. D. 52-62, shows a typical capital's face and would not look out of place in the office of any modern captain of industry" (Cobern: *New Archeological Discoveries*, page 377). Of course, as in our day, banking was necessarily promoted by members of the aristocratic class. Many Roman Knights supported themselves in this way. Those able to promote a banking business usually reaped large returns, lending money at a high rate of interest and well secured by notes and mortgages. These mortgages, or deeds of trust, were very specific and rigid in their terms, and usually required a full description of the property mortgaged, so that there might be no fraud as to identification. Notes and mortgages were negotiable, for there are extant records of instances where they were transferred from one individual to another. Such securities were protected by law and collection could be effected by legal processes. Failure to meet the terms of a loan or provide the

stipulated security was punishable by forfeit of property or imprisonment. The rate of interest was usually very high. The Roman government sought to regulate the interest charged on loans, but with little success. The standard rate was supposed to be about eight per cent, but was sometimes lower, or, far more often higher. Twelve per cent, etc., was a common charge for the use of money. Provisions were made for checking accounts and for savings deposits, bearing interest. The traveler who did not care to bear the inconvenience and risk of a large sum of money on his person, could secure letters of credit or certificates of exchange. Thus it may be seen that banking in the first century was developed to a stage approximating that of modern times. It is to be observed, however, that the banking system was not sufficiently developed to take care of the enormous wealth which had poured into the purses of the wealthy Romans, a condition which left a great deal of surplus capital to be spent in luxuries and corrupt indulgence.

(2) *Labor.* When we come to consider the question of labor in the first century we meet with both the slave and the wage-earner. Menial tasks about home or business were performed almost exclusively by slave labor, where one was able to afford slaves. The poorer classes, who could not keep slaves, performed the servile labor for themselves. Nearly all the paid labor was engaged in agriculture or the trades, though the wide use of slave labor in these capacities reduced wages to the minimum, and made living exceedingly difficult for the free workman. The average wage-earner received from thirty to forty cents a day, which, at prices paid for food would purchase not more than one moderate meal for a family of five. This made living conditions among the laboring classes exceedingly stressful, and resulted in the wide prevalence of extreme poverty. Economic destitution was a familiar fact confronting the early Christian missionaries, which called for organized provision for the poor on the part of the churches. However, many private enterprises were carried on in which the proprietor did his own work and lived off the products of his own toil, or employed help from the cheap labor which was always at hand. In such situations living conditions were far more satisfactory than for the wage-earner.

The business of the day may be said to have been divided into two great classes, proprietors and hirelings. No distinction was made between the manual trades and the "higher professions," such as is common in the modern world. The proprietor operated his own enterprise; anyone who received from him remuneration in return for services rendered, regardless of the nature of such services, was simply a hireling. This, however, is not to be construed as meaning that no respect was accorded to superior native gifts or highly developed proficiency. There was a premium on ability then as now.

Those who worked at a common trade frequently organized themselves into trade-guilds, comparable to our modern labor unions. Thus there were guilds of bakers, of smiths, of fullers, and of practically every other trade known to the period. It is probable that there was a tent-makers guild, and it may be reasonably assumed that Paul was a member of it. Of course the purpose of the guild was the co-operative promotion of the trade, and the mutual benefit of the members. Religion likewise played a part, for some guilds had a special patron deity; e.g., Vesta was goddess of the bakers and Minerva of the fullers. Some effort was undoubtedly made to secure fair returns for labor, but strikes were certainly an uncommon occurrence. The evidence of inscriptions shows that they took a considerable share in local politics. One distinct advantage was that a member might find favor from another of his guild when traveling, or seeking employment in a new place. Again a convenience Paul might have enjoyed suggests itself to our minds. Mutual aid to members in poverty or distress was a quite natural feature of the guild system. Death-benefits were provided for in the case of widows and orphans and the burial of the members.

In preparation for a trade one was expected to serve for a season as an apprentice. The terms of such an apprenticeship are fully described in several extant papyrus documents. First the parties entering the contract were given full descriptive identification, as was the custom in all business or legal proceedings of the time. If the apprentice was a minor the father or guardian assumed responsibility for him in the contract. The period of apprenticeship varied according to the necessities of the case. During this period the apprentice was to be entirely

subject to the orders of his employer. In some instances the apprentice or his sponsor assumed his support, while the employer paid a small stipend for his services; at other times the employer agreed to assume support of the apprentice, and pay wages in addition. The apprentice was bound by the contract to his employer for the full period agreed on, and penalties were imposed upon either party for violation of the contract. Of course we are not to regard these papyrus texts as furnishing exhaustive evidence of all features and forms of the practice, but they may certainly be accepted as representative.

Practically all the trades of the day were represented among the members of the Christian churches. This is one item of much valuable information which comes to us from the Catacombs, a vast labyrinth of subterranean corridors built by the early Christians under the city of Rome, to be used primarily for burial purposes, but also to some extent serving as places of refuge from persecution.

There were in the first century Roman world several of what we now know as the higher or liberal professions: artists, physicians, surgeons, attorneys, teachers, professional scribes, etc. Though not having the social standing that such occupations hold in our world, yet it is probable that, outside Rome where aristocratic exclusiveness debarred them from higher society, these professions were highly respected, in proportion, of course, to the degree of individual merit. As far as facilities within their knowledge or reach would allow, these professions attained in many instances to a high degree of proficiency. Medical science, though crude as compared with modern achievements, had nevertheless made advancement which commands our respect. In Ephesus there were at one time ten public physicians supported by the city. In the fourth century there were public physicians in Oxyrhynchus, and the custom, apparently so well established at that time, must have originated much earlier. There were drug stores to dispense medicine, the good quality of which was guarded by law. In the ruins of Pompeii there were discovered evidences of the effective practice of surgery. In an excavated tomb there has been found a pair of forceps, undoubtedly buried with a dentist. We have seen how the practice of law was provided for by a definite course of training. It was an honorable and popular profession.

In general it may be said that all the existing professions had attained to a worthy degree of proficiency.

(3) *Travel.* The first century was an exceedingly restless age. People of all classes traveled much, in spite of the fact that there was much inconvenience from the lack of facilities and considerable danger from bandits. However, in provisions for travel the first century was considerably beyond some subsequent centuries. "Facilities of communication were more abundant than at any time prior to the invention of steam and the era of railway construction" (Angus: *Environment of Early Christianity*, page 13).

The civilized world was threaded in every direction by the Roman roads, which were relatively straight, paved, and well kept. Many travelers walked, while some rode on horse or mule. The wealthy rode in carriages or were borne by slaves on a litter. There were horse-drawn vehicles, carriages, and carts, let out for rent.

In the larger towns and cities, there were inns, but the accommodations in these were usually meagre and unpleasant. Many travellers obtained lodging in private dwellings, or carried with them tents or other provisions for taking care of their own lodging. One belonging to the same trade-guild, religious cult, or having any other personal relationship to any resident of the locality where he was stopping for a period, could nearly always find welcome more or less genuine in a private home. This was the prevailing manner in which the first Christian missionaries were provided for.

In some districts travel was seriously menaced by bandits, but organized effort was made by the Roman government to eradicate this danger wherever it existed, and, as the papyri bear testimony, appeal could be made to the Roman officials for redress and relief from banditry. It is true, however, that in most of the territory under the control of the Roman Empire travel was relatively safe and convenient.

A great deal of travel was done by way of the Mediterranean Sea, for passage by water offered accommodations much superior to those which could be obtained by land. There was the inevitable risk of storms, and slight danger still from pirates, but of the latter the Roman government had succeeded in almost entirely riding the Mediterranean. Hundreds of

ships, capable of carrying several hundred passengers each were constantly plying the larger waters of the Mediterranenan world, except through the winter season, when marine navigation was considered impracticable. By this means of transportation the gospel of Christ frequently made its way into vast new fields of opportunity.

This brief sketch of economic conditions should enable the student to visualize the ordinary man of the first century as he pursued the inevitable routine of supplying the temporal demands of life. It was into this busy, restless world that the messengers of the cross went. They must of necessity submit themselves to the same temporal status in life. Those who made up the constituency of the first churches were partakers of these living conditions. For these reasons this briefly sketched economic picture will help greatly in a true conception of the life which lies in the background of the New Testament.

Social Life

We now pass out beyond the confines of home and business, and enter the circles of society where the people are mingling in social contacts. Again we are confronted with typical human life. The barriers of social distinction are found, the social instinct of human nature is manifested, the eager search for pleasure is in full sway, and common human experiences are being enacted.

(1) *Social Classes.* Here there is the possibility of considerable difference in view between different authorities. Lines of distinction between social classes are never absolutely exact or unalterably rigid, except where there is an accepted caste system, and this was not true of Graeco-Roman society. The nearest approach to caste was in the imperial and senatorial circles, or high official classes of the government, but even these mingled freely with the extremely rich, even if the latter had no high office in the state. Thus there was an upper stratum of society consisting of the aristocrats and plutocrats.

There are among the most competent authorities those who consider that first century, Graeco-Roman Society had no middle class. This is because there was such a wide breach between the higher circles of official distinction and wealth and the common masses of the people. But there was that vast multitute of

ordinary humanity, who pursued the average ways of life, sought to secure by honest toil a competent support for themselves and those dependent on them, and obeyed in their conduct the better instincts of human nature. It is this vast social class that we look upon as we read the papyri, and we see clearly there that they were not of a single level of social attainment but present varying grades of culture and refinement.

Beneath the masses was another social class which we may call the rabble. This was that great horde of idlers, scattered throughout the empire, but congregating especially in the larger cities. They lived shiftless and grossly indulgent lives, depending for support upon charity, gambling, and theft. In Rome the emperors fed many thousands of them out of the public treasury, thus encouraging their indolence. The majority of this class were doubtless idle from choice, yet there were certainly many who were unable to secure employment. As a rule they lived in a wretched state of poverty. Representatives from this class made up a considerable part of the membership of the church at Corinth (1 Co. 1:26), and were incited against the missionary efforts of Paul in Thessolonica when the Jews "took unto themselves certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, and sat all the city on an uproar" (Ac. 17:5).

Below the rabble in popular esteem, but far above them in average character and culture, were the slaves. Of these there were many hundreds of thousands Their social standing was *nil,* and their influence upon society indirect, yet they had an effect upon Greaco-Roman society which their contemporaries little realized.

(2) *Social Intercourse.* The instinctive human fondness for social contact was of course found in first century life. Ties of friendship were often warm and genuine, and tender sympathy was manifested toward friends in trial or sorrow. People mingled with one another in the common relationships of life. Dinner parties and social entertainments were given, to which guests were formally invited by written invitation, and visits paid between homes, just as in modern society. There were places of social resort, such as public baths, colonnades of the great public buildings, open squares, shops, eating houses, taverns and beaches. Loitering about public places

was a pastime of the idle then as now. A familiar sight was a group of gossipers gathered about a shop or any other place of public patronage. The social impulse was strong, so every opportunity for social contact was utilized.

As a natural concomitant of the highly developed social life we find first century society interested in the matter of dress. Of course this matter was automatically regulated by the means in possession of the individual. The representative of the common people would be found ordinarily dressed simply in a tunic (Greek *chitoon*), a garment falling skirt-like from the shoulders to the knees and girt about the waist with a belt. On his feet he would wear coarse shoes or sandals, and on his head a conical cap. The more formal dress of the higher classes consisted usually of the same garments, though of finer texture, more elaborate head-dress, shoes of better material, and frequently short hose. Under garments were worn in accordance with the demands of comfort. When the weather was cold a mantle or heavy cloak was worn, such as that which Paul requests Timothy to bring him from Troas (2 Tim. 4:13). Those who were traveling might wear a hat with a broad brim, though frequently they went without anything on the head. The distinctive garb of the Roman citizen, and allowed to none other, was the toga, a long blanket-like garment which was worn draped about the shoulders and body. The wearing of it was much more a matter of formal distinction than of comfort. Though Paul was a Roman citizen, and as such had a perfect right to don this distinctive dress, it is highly improbable that he ever availed himself of the privilege. Instead, it is probable that as his more formal attire he wore a light mantle or *himation*. In imperial circles at Rome garments were trimmed in royal purple to denote high official rank.

A woman of reasonable means wore two principal garments. There was an under tunic, short and sleeveless, and bound high about the bust The outer tunic, of linen or silken texture, was fastened above the shoulder with brooches, and encircled by a girdle just under the arms. It was equipped with sleeves and flounces, and extended to the feet. These garments were commonly white, but might be trimmed with colors. Sandals were worn in the home, but shoes out of doors. A mantle was thrown about the shoulders when the woman

was out of doors. The arrangement of the hair varied according to vacillating styles, which were as unstable as are the modern styles of feminine attire. Hats were not worn by the women of the first century. Cosmetics and other artificial means for heightening physical charm were used lavishly. Jewelry, in form and use similar to that of our own time, was worn in accordance with the lady's means.

(3) *Amusements.* The society of the Graeco-Roman world found many forms of diversion and pastime; some harmless, most of them demoralizing, and the more demoralizing, the more popular. There were a number of Roman holidays, some such occassions covering a week at a time. Tucker places the total number at approximately one hundred days during a year. (*Roman World of Nero and St. Paul*, page 260). These holidays were times of great merimaking, and frequently of riotous demonstration. In Rome the government or individual officials spent large sums in promoting such celebrations. Favorite forms of public entertainment were the games and theatrical exhibitions, the latter generally very degrading in moral effects. But most popular of all were the chariot races and the bloody spectacles of the ampitheatre These were to be found in most of the principal cities of the Empire, particularly where Roman influence was dominant. To the Jew and the Greek gladiatorial combats were unendurably repulsive, and were aggressively opposed by them wherever their influence had weight. It was to the utter horror and intense abhorence of the native inhabitants that Herod established an amphitheatre just outside Jerusalem. In these ghastly performances there were exhibitions of bloodshed and cruelty too horrible to describe; men torn by wild beasts, slain or mangled by an opponent's deadly weapon, the arena literally soaked in human blood. The greater the amount of blood-shed the more popular was the performance.

The standard view of enjoyment in first century society is probably reflected in the following inscription found upon a gaming table in Timgad: *Venari, lavare, ludere, ridere—hoc est vivere* (to hunt, to bathe, to gamble, to laugh—this is to live). There were the pleasure resorts of the more respectable type, with their numerous lights and various devices for amusement. Then there were the haunts reeking with filth and

iniquity, which served as a chosen rendezvous for the debauched and a resort of desparation for the destitute or the fugitive. To these base resorts there frequently came representatives of the higher grades of society, seeking the gross pleasures to be found there. This fact is sadly typical of human nature—in the first century and in all other centuries. In Pompeii "the bar-room, * * * * with marble counter and with glasses and decanters in place, was almost exactly like a modern bar-room, even to the hot lunches offered with drinks" (Cobern: *op. cit.*, page 377).

(4) *At the Exit of Life.* Before Christianity had come, to shed the glory of its redemptive interpretation about the grave, death was a dread ordeal: the expiration of all that was of known value to man, the uncertain passing into an uncertain domain beyond the gates of the tomb. Comfort and hope were sought in philosophy and religion, but only scant returns were obtained. Quite naturally ignorance and fear had surrounded death with superstition, and intensified its dread. The chief preparation for death was temporal and commercial. One exercised exceeding care to secure proper burial rites and interment, for not to be properly buried was a dishonor and calamity. Those wishing to bequeath their property to any individual or interest made wills, which were quite similar in form to those with which we are familiar in modern times, and which could be revoked at the will of the testator. To this practice the papyri bear abundant testimony.

When death had come the body was turned over to the professional undertaker, who provided all the accessories and attendants for the funeral. The corpse was borne to the place of interment upon a bier or, in cases of extreme poverty, in a rude box, preceded by mourners and, if the means of the family would allow, a band of musicians, and followed by a procession of relatives and friends. Among the wealthy Romans cremation was extensively practiced, but among the masses in the Empire burial took place in tombs or graves. Many monuments or other markers were used, bearing epitaphs which were usually expressive of great affection and honor, but sometimes were crudely incongruous.

Thus the Greek and Roman stumbled into the night at the end of life's brief journey, where remained the unbroken

shadows of darkness until the appearing of that One "who abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light through the gospel" (1 Tim. 1:10).

Morals

Conditions in the Roman Empire for the last two centuries before the Christian era were far from conducive to the improvement of morals. Indeed the very opposite was true. The almost perpetual warfare by which Rome extended her conquests and settled internal disputes gave dominance to the spirit of militarism, which is always destructive of moral fibre. Economic and industrial life was greatly interfered with, which resulted in the prevalence of extreme poverty, with its attendant evils. A few people acquired wealth and oppressed the poor. The love of luxury and ease increased among the rich and the recklessness of despair degraded the poor. Petty thefts were being constantly perpetrated, men defrauded one another in business transactions, and graft in public office was so common as to be a matter taken for granted. In their conquests the Roman legions took multitudes of prisoners, who were sold into slavery. By this means the number of slaves became exceedingly large, inevitably giving rise to much idleness on the part of their masters, and idleness is always productive of evil. As a further result of slavery was the increased indulgence of lust and the production of a progeny without moral training or responsibility. The spirit of unrest which prevailed caused much moving about in the Empire, and destroyed the charms of quiet, domestic life. Family ties were entirely too lightly regarded. Thus the sanctity of the home and the marriage vow were not properly respected. Common-law mating was a prevalent, and apparently a legalized practice. The evils of the stage and the amphitheatre agitated sensuality and lust for excitement.

Many of the rites of pagan worship were extremely coarse and sensual, thereby lending to immorality the sanction of religion. In the worship of Aphrodite at Corinth a thousand priestesses devoted themselves to prostitution in the name of religion. There has been found in Antioch of Pisidia remains of a "holy bed" which was "used for the mystic marriage ceremony between the god and his goddess—in which service, according to immemorial tradition, Anatolian ladies, even of

the highest rank, were expected to take part" (Cobern: op. cit., page 585). A prominent feature of the worship of Artemis at Ephesus was the dedication to prostitution of a group of priestesses who came to the temple as chaste virgins. In Phrygia the worship of Cybele required of women in general that they sacrifice their virtue to the goddess, and if a husband should protest against his wife performing this service it was regarded as a grave offence, meriting the wrath of the goddess. Sexual vice was the chief corruption of pagan worship, but not its only vice, for drunkenness and gluttony also abounded.

In general philosophy offered a check upon vice; but, as observed above, Epicureanism furnished a cloak of philosophy for degraded conduct.

As a result of these various demoralizing tendencies the Graeco-Roman would of the first century reeked with the most revolting forms of vice. In higher society, though morality was still nominally identified with respectibility, yet there was a light-hearted spirit of tolerence toward vice, a willingness to condone human weakness and indulgence, based upon the prevalent conviction that such conduct is the inevitable result of normal human desires. Among the rabble, as in our "underworld," moral restraint was an unknown factor. The upper and nether strata of society being saturated with corruption, it was inevitable that much immorality should invade the middle classes as well. In the light of all the evidence we can but conclude that society of the first century was frightfully corrupt. Indulgence was taken for granted, license was condoned, and greed was the accepted rule of life. The birthrate decreased, marriage became infrequent, and the home the instrument or occasion of lust. Divorce was undoubtedly very prevalent, for among the papyrus remains one of the most abundant classes of documents is the divorce certificates, and their evidence is supported by the literary sources.

Sensual corruption abounded in its most degraded forms. In the ruins of Pompeii there are on the walls of what were recognized as respectable homes in the first century pictures which are painted "engaged in such evil actions, with such devilish ingenuity of imagination, that ordinary visitors to the ruined city are not allowed to see them. When the present writer was taken, in 1913, through the new street which has

just been discovered, he found that the walls of the houses fronting the street were covered with such abominable pictures that the excavator had covered them with sheets so that his working men might not be debauched by them" (Cobern: *op. cit.*, page 376). In their original situation these pictures were scanned daily by the children growing up in a Graeco-Roman home! The result of such constant and degrading influence could be nothing short of debauchery. Archeologists tell us that many of the scribblings on the walls and other surfaces in Rome and Pompeii are too obsene to appear in print. And there is no evident reason for considering these cities as exceptional; such conditions may be taken as typical of urban life in the first century. Paul's arraignment of the Graeco-Roman world in Rom. 1:24–32 is a true representation of the real conditions as they existed in the great centers of population. When Apostolic Christianity faced out toward the world of its day it was confronted with one of the darkest pictures ever presented in human history.

But our skech of moral conditions in the Graeco-Roman world is certainly incomplete if we fail to give notice to that brighter side of the picture, the presence of many factors which were operating for the betterment of human life, and many instances of genuine moral excellence. Corruption did not reign unopposed and without exception. Throughout first century paganism there were noble spirits who were raising the most forcible protest within their power against the abounding immorality. The voice of the sincere moralist was heard in opposition to practically every vice of the day. Philosophers and rulers joined in protest against cruelty to slaves. Seneca denounced the gladiatorial combats of the amphitheatre. Plutarch pleaded for more just and equitable principles governing marriage. Musonius interceded with society on behalf of the child, and eloquently portrayed the charms of a happy home. Ovid inveighed bitterly against the crime of mudering the unborn infant. Tacitus, Epictetus, Seneca, and many others heartily condemned the horrible practice of exposing infants. Vice in every form found bitter antagonists among the better minds of the day.

Nor was the higher moral tone confined to leading thinkers and writers. Among the common people there were many

instances of wholesome moral and domestic conditions. Here the picture is brightened by light from the papyri. It is exceedingly dark as we see it in the literature of the day—in the verdict of the essayist, the poet, or the philosopher, or as painted by the Christian Apologists, or in the remains of an ancient Roman city; but the brighter side of the picture appears in the background of the non-literary witnesses of the age, the inscriptions, ostraca, and papyri. These reveal the moral life of the masses. In the formal literature we meet in the main the view of the aristocracy, the profligacy of wealth, the indulgence of luxury and idleness; but "when we descend into the great masses, and listen to them at their work, in the fields, in the workshop, on the Nile boat and the Roman cornships, in the army and at the money-changers table,—he must be blind who cannot see that many were leading useful, hardworking, dependable lives, that family feeling and friendship bound poor people together and strengthened them, that the blessings of an old and comparatively established civilization were felt in the smallest villages, and, chiefly, that a deeply religious strain went through that entire world" (Deissmann: *Light From the Ancient East*, page 284). However, it is undoubtedly true that even the better side of the picture of first century moral life is none too bright—it is not without its dark spots. Even in the papyri we find "only too abundant evidence to support the statements of the Roman satirists, for example regarding the wickedness, the unblushing wickedness, of the times, and the gloom and misery with which it was accompanied" (Milligan: *Here and There Among the Papyri*, page 84). Human nature then was a lustful and vicious as it is now, with far less restraint and inferior culture. It is certain that even the best life of the age had in it a considerable admixture of the current forms of indulgence and corruption. We should beware of permitting the discovery that the better features of Graeco-Roman life have sometimes been overlooked, to create the equally mistaken impression, at the opposite extreme, that moral conditions were approaching the ideal. The important fact to recognize is that the first century knew how to live well, and did in some instances succeed in living well, but lacked the motivation for permanent moral excellence. The moral sense and ethical ideals of the age had reached a high state of

development, even if practice did fall far below theory. Some of the reasons for this fact have appeared above in tracing the development of ethical philosophy. Then moral standards no doubt arose spontaneously from human conscience, under the influence of civilized conditions. Thus the noble ethical message of Christianity, though decidedly superior to its pagan counterpart, at least found a ready point of contact with the first century mind and conscience. The first Christian missionaries found, even among the Gentiles, a nucleus of characters who were highly susceptible to the ethical appeal of the gospel, and were already trained to a considerable extent in the art of moral living. Paul's ethical instructions were not utterly strange to readers but recently converted from paganism. But the very nature of those instructions is convincing evidence that (Paul) had a severe conflict with a state of extreme corruption in undertaking to establish and stabalize his converts in moral rectitude. Frequently he cautions his readers against such sins as theft, drunkenness, and lying. In writing to the Ephesian "saints" (1:1) he exhorts them in 4:28 to desist from stealing. The extended warning against unchastity in 1 Thes. 4:3-7 strongly suggests that this bestial sin was invading the Christian congregation there. From 1 Cor. 1-8 we learn that a Chrisian church was ignoring the sin of a member who had violated his own step-mother. A close study of Paul's moral instructions compels the conclusion that his converts were in the main won from a wretchedly immoral state.

In the light of all the evidence we would conclude that first century Graeco-Roman life was generally and mainly bad, with much good interspersed here and there, and with a moral ideal considerably superior to moral conduct. The need of the age was a refinement of the moral ideal by association with the principle of unselfish love, and an impulse sufficient for its attainment. With what sublime adequacy the Christian message met this need.

CHAPTER IX.

RELIGION IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

The religious condition of the Graeco-Roman world at the dawn of the first century was characterized by two very pronounced features; viz., dissatisfaction with the old national religions, and the demand for a religion of practical moral and spiritual value to the individual. It was an age marked in a special way by the growth of individualism. Man was no longer merely a cog in the machinery of tribe or city or state, but a distinct entity within himself, with an independent significance and prerogative of his own. This development deeply affected the religious consciousness of the period, producing the two characteristics to which we have referred.

The National Religions

In order that we may view the religious situation of the first century world in an adequate historical perspective, it is necessary to review briefly the original religions of the Greek and Roman races.

1. The native religion of Rome was decidedly polytheistic. In fact, the tendency of the Roman was to take every quality of character and experience of life, which could be abstractly conceived, and deify it. This produced a great multitude of gods. Worship was regarded as primarily a function of the state, to be carried on by state officials at public expense. However, the state worship was devoted to only the more prominent gods. There were many of the primitive divinities whose worship was confined to particular localities in the Roman state, or had become merely domestic gods. Practically every Roman house-hold had its patrimonial deities, which were installed in a little shrine, and to which were offered food and garlands in return for their protection of the home. It was the gods of general interest, such as those which had to do with the weather, the harvest, or success in battle, whose worship was promoted by the state. There seems to have been no idea of individual relationship or contact with deity. The gods were worshipped only that they might be induced to bestow good fortune upon the nation or the home. Since the home was regarded as primarily an instrument of the state, the funda-

mental religious incentive of the ancient Roman was patriotism. The gods were essentially gods of the state, and benefitted the individual only as they bestowed some favor upon the state, or upon the household as an element of the state. Hence religion was principally a governmental concern, and the gods were factors in the progress of the Roman nation.

2. The religions of ancient Greece may be described as anthropomorphic polytheism. The Greek gods were but superior human beings, with the cravings and weaknesses of human nature, transcending the common plane of humanity only in power—never in character. The religious conceptions of the Greeks found their most elaborate, if not their highest, literary expression in the Homeric poems. Therefore, Homer is sometimes called the "Bible" of the ancient Greeks, though with doubtful appropriateness. The Greek gods were far more personal and realistic than those of Rome, though the contact of Rome with Greek religion after the Romans conquered the Greeks brought a change in the Roman view of religion in the direction of a more personal worship of the gods. However, worship with the Greeks was nothing more than adulation of a national hero, and the gods, like those of Rome, were national rather than universal. Though the gods themselves were persons, there was no general conception of personal relations of the worshipper with the gods.

Religious Decadence

These gods of Greece and Rome were unequal to the conditions which prevailed in the first century. In fact, for several previous centuries they had been declining in influence. The intellectual advance of the Greeks rendered them superior to the crude religious conceptions of Homer and his age, and as a result there came two developments. Those who were still inclined to cling to the primitive worship took refuge in the allegorical method in interpreting Homer, construing his myths as symbolic representations of philosophical conceptions. Those who were more coldly intellectual and speculative utterly abandoned faith in the primitive gods. This religious attitude spread with the advance of Greek culture. Then came the Roman legions, to break down all the barriers of race and nationality and throw the religions of the civilized world into one vast, confused, contending mass of rival deities. These

developments inevitably ushered the Graeco-Roman world into a serious religious crisis. As the cultural effects of Greek philosophy and the universalizing effects of Roman conquest pervaded the Mediterranean world the old religious conceptions and forms inevitably collapsed. Since the pagan deities of the former age had been local, belonging to a single nation, city or household, when people began to move from place to place they confronted a serious religious difficulty. If one left his native locality he thereby severed his connection with his national or family gods. It was difficult to become accustomed to the peculiarities and worship of the new god or gods in the locality to which he moved. On the other hand, as new neighbors moved in from other localities, bringing new gods with them, perhaps with more attractive qualities and inducements, one of a pronounced religious temperament felt inclined to take in the new gods alongside the old ones. As a result, the common people became confused as to the character and limits of the realms of divinity, and credulously put their trust in all gods, but without intense devotion to any. Then as the effects of Greek culture increased its sway over the first century mind, the better intellects began to think and to question, and soon perceived the obvious fact that one who was really a god could not consistently be subject to local and racial limitations, or possess the character in which the gods were popularly conceived. Hence the more cultured minds lost faith in the gods which their fathers had worshipped. The old national and local religions were threatened with dissolution, but for obvious political reasons the Roman officials wished to keep alive the gods of Rome. Therefore, the state sought to perpetuate the old forms of Roman religion, even when it was currrently admitted that they were but empty forms.

There was one form of the ancient localized worship which still survived, and maintained itself with greater or less vigor and effectiveness. This is what we may call the provincial religions. In certain districts, usually consisting of a city or group of cities with adjacent territory, there was still to be found the worship of a local deity. Prior to the Roman conquest of Asia Minor the organization of many of these provincial religions had been identical with the civil administration, the officers of the law being at the same time the functionaries

of the religion, but under Roman control the civil and religious government were separated in most localities. The civil government was reorganized while the religious government was allowed to maintain itself along former lines. In Asia Minor these community religions were numerous. In several cases they united with one another in politico-religious federations.

In first century Ephesus there was a local religion, the worship of the Greek goddess Artemis, or, as she is known in Latin, Diana. This goddess had been known and worshipped throughout the Greek world, but her religion became specialized in Ephesus, where it was provided with elaborate equipment. The image of the goddess, which was believed to have fallen from heaven, was housed in a beautiful temple, and elevated upon a pedestal constructed from jewels and treasurers contributed by her devotees. The temple was a vast edifice, so remarkable for its magnificence that it was reckoned among the seven wonders of the world. The worship was more elaborate than that of the Temple at Jerusalem, but consisted in some particulars of disgracefully lewd practices. In distinctively Greek mythology Artemis was the goddess of chastity, but through oriental influence the Ehpesian deity was regarded as representative of the reproductive forces of nature, and was probably a localized appropriation and adaptation of the Phrygian goddess of nature Cybele. The worship of Artemis held a large place in the public affairs at Ephesus. Officials of the city government were expected to enforce respect for this patron deity. This place of the ancient goddess in the life of the city was recognized and protected by Rome. One chief means in the propagation of the religion of Artemis was the manufacture and sale of small images of the goddess, which became, for those promoting it, a very lucrative trade. It was the curtailing of this enterprise which got Paul and his companions into trouble (Ac. 19:23 ff.).

At the dawn of the Christian era the city of Corinth was celebrated for the worship of Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of beauty and love. Her temple was located on the Acrocorinthus, the most prominent point in the city, and a very elaborate ritual was performed in her honor. Aphrodite had been worshipped in other Greek cities, but her worship persisted longest in Corinth, and was characterized by many oriental

excesses which would not have been tolerated in the more conservative Greek communities. More than a thousand women were used as prostitutes in the ceremonies devoted to the goddess. The gross immorality of this religion doubtless aggravated the desparate corruption of Corinth in Paul's day.

The worship of Artemis in Ephesus and Aphrodite in Corinth, instances which are of special interest to the New Testament student, were conspicuous cases from among the localized forms of the ancient worship which still survived in the first century. But even these provincial religions were passing, for they were out of accord with the dominant religious demands of the age. They belonged to a stage of development which had been abandoned to the past, and were of necessity receding before the advance of a new world of thought and activity. Those which survived were in the nature of remnants rather than progressive developments.

The old gods were gone—whither should the world turn for other gods? Some doubting souls gave up the quest in despair, and lapsed into a sort of passive atheism. Many adopted a pessimistic view of life, and resigned themselves to a dismal fatalism. Multitudes were wandering in darkness, having no religion which they could consider as satisfactory or reliable. Gilbert Murray, adopting the suggestion of another, describes this religious destitution as a "failure of nerve." He considers that it resulted from the breaking up of the old beliefs and traditions, and a desparate grasping after a new religious hope. (Cf. *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, pages 8, 9, 155 ff.).

Religious Longings

Yet one is far from correct if he supposes that religious interest and activity had been stifled. Never was there in the world's history a situation in which the human heart cried out more insistently for religious satisfaction, sought more diligently for religious benefits, or engaged more heartily in religious privileges. To their gods they went with the everyday problems of life and their physical afflictions, and believed that by miraculous methods aid was rendered or cures effected. Intercessory prayer was offered for friends, and thanksgiving for the safety of relatives. Dreams were ascribed to the influence of the gods, and were believed to forecast coming

events. The devout made pilgrimages to their favorite temples, where they offered rich gifts, doubtless often at great sacrifice, expecting from the god or goddess some kind of favor in return, usually a temporal or physical benefit. Oracles were consulted relative to the commonplace details of life. Nor was the interest in religion confined to its application to this life. It turned with deep yearning toward the other world. Men were grasping blindly at the hope of a peaceful future beyond the grave, longing for someone who could "bring life and immortality to light."

Hearts were sincerely burdened with a crushing sense of sin and spiritual deficiency, and yearned for an experience of fellowship with the one true God. The philosophic mind of the Graeco-Roman world had caught an enthralling glimpse of the reality of the one God of all the earth, and hungered intensely for a greater knowledge of Him. There was a prevailing demand for a word of certainty to answer the theoretical questionings of philosophical speculation, an authoritative revelation of the real truth about God. The word must become flesh and dwell among men, before the passionate longing of the first century heart could be satisfied. The world had grown weary of philosophical abstractions. The yearning was for a God who was sensitive to human need and suffering, to whom one could pray with the hope of being heard, and with whom he might enjoy personal communion. The spirit of the age cried out for a God who was a loving, sympathetic Redeemer. All the Mediterranean world was asking, "Sirs, what must we do to be saved?"

Many serious minds had devoted themselves to an effort to solve the religious problems of the age. Philosophy gave itself primarily to a ministry of religion. "As a matter of fact, the whole tendency of Greek philosophy after Plato, with some illustrious exceptions, especially among the Romanizing Stoics, was away from the outer world toward the world of the soul. We find in the religious writings of this period that the real Savior of men is not he who protects them against earthquakes and famine, but he who is some sense saves their souls" (Gilbert Murray: *op. cit.*, page 194 f.) For this problem of the soul's salvation many solutions were offered. It was no novel occurrence to find some earnest soul undertak-

ing to tell the world of a plan of salvation. Various systems of religion and theories of life were being offered to the hungry hearts of the age.

Preaching became a familiar practice in the propagation of these religio-philosophical systems. It was particularly characteristic of the Stoics and Cynics. A common incident of the day was the sight of a Stoic or Cynic preacher, standing on a street corner or in an open square, preaching his message of moral philosophy to the wayfarer who might linger to hear him—and usually the audience was considerable in numbers and largely sympathetic. Much good was undoubtedly accomplished by these missionaries of philosophy. In important respects they were precursors of the missionaries of the cross. They created a deeper interest in morality and a more intense craving for a sufficeint moral dynamic, and made preaching familiar and effective as a method for the propagation of doctine. Angus significantly says of them, "they were voices crying in the wilderness of Paganism, preparing the way of the Lord" (*Environment of Early Christianity*, page 78).

The Mystery Religions

To sum up the situation in a word, the old national and local deities no longer satisfied the religious necessities of the time, for there had come a prevalent craving for a spiritual, personal, universal religion. To some extent this demand was met by the Greek and oriental mystery-religions. These religions gathered about weird and wonderful legends of gods and goddesses, and usually the chief features of the traditions were portrayed in symbolic rites. These rites, both as to their manner and significance, were largely kept secret, supposed to be known only by those devotees who had been initiated as full participants in the privileges of the cult. These secret doctrines and rites were called the "mysteries." Whenever the peculiar rites of a given religion were observed in any part of the world, they were expected to secure for the participants the benefits of that religion, and the favor and fellowship of the deity. Usually the gods of these mystery-religions were represented as concerned in the welfare of the individual votary, and as having the power to confer personal salvation. Thus these mystery-cults met the demand for a universal and individual religion. In a real and significant manner they pre-

pared the way for Christianity. They constitute one of the most important features of the New Testament world.

The Greek Mystery Religions.

The Greeks themselves had developed some of these mystery-religions, though with some borrowed material from other sources.

1. A prominent instance is that known as the *Dionysian* cult. Dionysos was originally a nature god, adopted by the Greeks from the Thracians. The vague legendary basis of the religion belonged to remote antiquity, and had doubtless undergone great modification in the course of its transition to the first century Greek world. Its ceremonies consisted of frenzied performances, eating the raw flesh of a bull or other sacrificial animal, and orgies too revolting to bear detailed description. The religious objectives of the cult were mystic union with the god and personal immortality. It was therefore individual in its interest.

2. Arising as a sort of reform movement in the Dionysian worship was the religion known as *Orphism*. The basis of the religion was a legend about a priest named Orpheus who had been slaughtered by the frenzied devotees of Dionysos. It made great moral improvement on the Dionysian worship, and a decided advance in doctrine, particularly in eschatology. Not only was immortality anticipated, but along with it judgment and eternal reward or retribution. Such views give striking evidence of the fundamental instincts of religion which are inherent in human nature, implanted there by the beneficient purposes of God.

3. The most popular religion at Athens for six centuries before the Christian era was the *Eleusinian* mysteries. In fact, it was adopted as the state religion of Athens. This religion originated as an agrarian cult, designed to secure the fertility of the soil and greater fruits in the harvest, a prevalent objective in primitive religion. The myth on which it was based is contained in the Homeric hymn to Demeter. This goddess Demeter appears to have been a modification and adaptation of the Corn-goddess of ancient Eleusis. According to the legend Proserpine, daughter of Demeter, is carried away by Pluto and made queen of the Underworld. Demeter, god-

dess of the grain harvest, forsakes her agrarian functions and descends to the Underworld in pursuit of Proserpine and her captor, in consequence of which the earth is left barren and famine prevails. Zeus interferes and orders that Proserpine be returned to her mother eight months in the year. As a result the god-mother celebrates her daughter's return by granting the earth eight months of fruitfulness. The ceremonies of this mystery-cult were quite elaborate, including first a fast, then sacrifices and the immersion of the initiates, followed by a pilgrimage from Athens to Eleusis, where the rites were completed. These ceremonies seem to have been originally a celebration of the harvest, but came later to be regarded as a means of securing immortality. It contained at least some moral emphasis, but this was not a prominent feature, and it is thought probable that some of the rites involved gross immorality.

The Oriental Mystery Religions.

The pagan religions of primary interest to the New Testament student are the Oriental mystery-cults. This is because, in the first place, they were most closely associated with primitive Christianity, and, secondly, they exercised the greatest influence upon the environment into which Christianity advanced from its Palestinian home.

1. In Egypt was found the worship of *Isis and Osiris.* Osiris was a mythical king of Egypt, of divine lineage, who lived in conjugal relations with his sister Isis, and co-operated with her in the promotion of agriculture and arts. Osiris incurred the jealousy of his brother Typhon, who secured his death by strategy, and having cut his body into pieces scattered it throughout Egypt. The grief-stricken Isis set out in search of the dismembered corpse, and finally succeeded in gathering it together and restoring it to life. Osiris became ruler of the Underworld, but was avenged against Typhon by his posthumous son Horus. The elaborate ceremonies of this religion represented the death and restoration of Osiris and purported to impart immortality to the worshipper. Beyond this the religion was without moral or theological significance. In the third century B. C. the Greek god Serapis became identified with Osiris and the worship of Serapis and Isis was thereby instituted, but with only slight modifications of the original

religion. From both literary and non-literary sources we learn that the worship of Serapis was a very popular religion in Egypt at the dawn of the Christian era.

2. A very important religion of the Graeco-Roman world was the worship of *Attis and Cybele.* It was transported to Rome from Phrygia in the third century B. C., but because of its wild and orgiastic nature was forbidden to Roman citizens until the time of Claudius. Exactly what the rites of this worship were in the first century we do not know, since our definite information comes from a much later date. The general features of the worship though we may ascertain with fair certainty. The ceremonies took place during the latter half of March, beginning on the fifteenth. It was accompanied by the most frenzied expressions of grief and excitement, even to the extent of physical mutilation. An important feature of the ceremonies was the cutting of a pine tree, which was made sacred by the myth concerning Attis. The trunk of this tree was carried, swathed in black garments like a corpse, and with great pomp and solemnity, to the temple of the goddess Cybele. This was intended to represent the death of the god Attis. The following day his resurrection was celebrated. Then followed other festivities and processions, the ceremonies being concluded at the temple of Cybele. The details of the underlying myth are vague and uncertain, but appear to be the primitive nature-religion conception of the goddess of fertility mourning for her beloved, and eventually restoring him to life again. In its native Asia Minor home the religion was one of extreme sexual excesses. "As late as the second century, women of the highest circles in Lydia lived as courtezans before the goddess * * * * Even after civilization stopped this as a general custom, a class of priestesses kept it up" (Cobern: *op. cit.*, page 418). To what extent this characteristic persisted in other localities we can not tell, but its sensual and sensational appeal were its chief attractions.

3. A religion of Babylonian origin was based upon the myth of *Ishtar and Tammuz.* It was another of the many forms of nature-worship. Tammuz was a god who departed each autumn to the nether world, whither he was followed by Ishtar, the goddess of love and reproduction. After a few months of absence the goddess returns, bringing Tammuz with

her, whence comes spring with its renewal of life and inspiration of love. The methods of worship in this religion were crude and revoltingly immoral. Its emphasis upon sexual love and physical reproduction lent to it ritual practices which are indescribable.

4. An approximate parallel to the Tammuz and Ishtar worship is found in that of the Phoenician deities *Adonis and Aphrodite,* with its center at Paphos in Cyprus. In fact, it is probably historically related to the Tammuz-Ishtar religion, for Frazer, a leading authority on ancient religions, considers that the name Adonis is doubtless a development from the Semitic title *adoni,* "my lord," the god having been called "my Lord Tammuz." (Cf. Frazer: *Adonis, Attis, Osiris,* page 6). The worship of Adonis was originally and essentially a nature-religion. The withering of vegetation in the autumn and its reappearance in the spring constituted its chief basis. Out of this recurrence of the seasons grew the myth which gave form to the worship.

In the mythical basis of the Adonis worship we again find features strongly suggestive of historical connection with the Tammuz-cult. In his Graeco-Oriental garb Adonis is a charming youth beloved by the goddess Aphrodite, another Graeco-Oriental deity. While Adonis was an infant Aphrodite concealed him in a chest and placed him in charge of Proserpine, the queen of the Underworld. So completely was Proserpine captivated by the beauty of the handsome babe that she declined to return him to Aphrodite. A bitter conflict followed, and was not settled until Zeus interfered as arbiter and decreed that Adonis should remain with Proserpine, the goddess of death, in the Underworld for a part of the year, and with the goddess of love Aphrodite in the upper world during the other part. In a fit of jealousy the god Ares disguised himself as a wild boar and slew the fair Adonis, to the unbounded grief of Aphrodite. The ritual of the religion consisted in the dramatizing of the death of the god, and his resurrection on the following day. It was assumed that on the day of his resurrection he ascended to heaven. We are told that in the ceremonies at Byblus: "The disconsolate believers, left behind on earth, shaved their heads * * * ; women who could not bring themselves to sacrifice their beautiful tresses had to give

themselves up to strangers on a certain day of the festival, and to dedicate to Astarte the wages of their shame" (Frazer: *op. cit.*, page 184). The devotees of this religion found in the Christian faith striking analogy to their beliefs, but an incomparably superior moral tone. It was like passing out of the dim glow of a tallow candle into the full light of the noonday sun. Yet the analogy of the Christian views with those of Adonism might have furnished a helpful point of contact.

5. Among the Oriental mystery-religions of antiquity, that which presents the highest ethical and religious character, and which approaches most nearly to Christianity in forms, views and ideals, was *Mithraism*. It was of extremely ancient origin, and had probably passed through several stages of modification. It is thought probable that in remote antiquity Mithra was an Iranian tribal god. Later he came to figure in Zoroastrianism as the mediator or manifestation of Ahura Mazda, the supreme Persian god. In the Chaldean form of the religion Mithra is a sun-god. As the worship appears in the Graeco-Roman period Mithra is again a supreme god, and not a subordinate or mediating deity.

Mithraism was probably present in Asia Minor for a century or more before the Christian era, but it did not spread widely until the end of the first century and after. Thus it had exceedingly doubtful opportunity for any genetic relation with Christianity. But its parallels to Christian doctrine and ceremony, and its place in history as the outstanding rival of early Christianity in the Graeco-Roman world, make it worthy of extended notice. In fact, its strong resemblance to Christianity has caused some scholars to assume, in spite of the lack of definite historical evidence, that there must have been some genetic dependence of Christianity upon Mithraism. This position, however can never be more than a very doubtful hypothesis, with all the probabilities being favorable to the dependence of Mithraism on Christianity, if there be any genetic relation existing.

Mithraism was fundamentally dualistic. This was its Iranian heritage. The rites of initiation were divided into seven stages, consisting of ablutions, sacrifices, and sacred meals, and designed to impart to the candidate a re-birth into fellowship with the god. In the "doctrine" of the religion Mithra is the

creator of the world and through several conflicts saves it from being destroyed by Ahriman, the prince of darkness. In these conflicts there is a flood story similar to the record in Genesis. When the earth was finally made secure against the evil one, Mithra returned to his heavenly abode. The initiates were promised that he would return again to endow them with immortality. A conspicuous feature of the ceremonial was the sacrifice of the sacred bull. It is probable that in an extremely ancient form of the religion the god was identified with a bull.

Mithraism held out the anticipation of a blessed immortality and of peace with the god. It held to the doctrines of a final judgment, resurrection, and the ultimate destruction of the present world order. The moral tone of Mithraism was much superior to most of the other mystery-religions. It made quite an effective appeal to the Graeco-Roman world, and from the second through the third century was a formidable competitor for Christianity, but declined rapidly thereafter, so that by the dawn of the fifth century it was practically a matter of history.

Characteristics of the Mystery Religions.

Based upon the foregoing review, we may present a summary of those general features which characterised to a greater or less extent all the mystery-cults. Such a survey will enable us to form a more accurate estimate of these religions in comparison with Christianity, and to visualize correctly the attitude of Christianity toward these cults as it moved into their midst from its cradle in Palestine.

1. They were based upon myths descending from remote antiquity and undoubtedly conceived by their devotees as supra-human, outside the course of common history. It was not a conception of God active in history, but a god acting outside history.

2. Their benefits were secured by the magical effects of some physical process. It was in the actual mechanics of the ritual itself that the worshipper received benefit. Their ceremonies were not symbols of spiritual operations, but were magical processes having an essential efficacy of their own.

3. Salvation consisted for the most part in securing desirable human ends. They seldom presented any conception of

a new ethical and spiritual sphere of experience. Morality was rarely ever present, and when it was, the clear evidence is that it was a secondary consideration. It was morality in order to a religious experience, and not religious experience with a view to morality.

4. The mystery-cults were all essentially polytheistic, for if the religion itself did not have two or more deities, it was tolerant toward the deities of other religions. That is, at best the mystery-religions were only henotheistic—having a supreme god in the particular religion itself, but not excluding the possibility of valid gods in other religions.

5. The higher religious features which they did possess were crude manifestations of basal religious instincts, native to the moral nature of man, such as the communion of humanity with deity, attainment of the soul to a higher sphere of experience, triumph of life over death, religion as a source of relief in human distress, etc. The religious nature of man has in many other instances given expression to these same inherent instincts. It is a fact worthy of remark though that these instincts were so concentrated and pronounced in the Graeco-Roman world at the advent of Christianity's redemptive message.

It is clearly certain that these religions were utterly inferior to Christianity, and could have made only the most incidental contribution to its outward form and expression, and none to its essential content.

Emperor Worship

While the old national religions of Greece and Rome had become entirely atrophied in the first century, there was a religious influence issuing from the imperial circles which made itself widely felt. This was the worship of the Roman emperor, promoted as a policy of political interest by the Roman government. To decline to take part in this official worship of the Emperor was to give evidence of disloyalty to the Empire, and might even, if stubbornly persisted in, be construed as treason. This fact made the worship of the Emperor exceedingly embarrassing to the early Christians, and frequently the cause of severe persecution.

The basis of the appeal of Emperor worship differed in the West and in the East. In Rome itself, and so in the mind

of the emperors, it was based in the old Roman idea of *genius*. The genius of a person, institution, or thing, was a representative guardian spirit which perpetuated the particular category to which its charge belonged. The genius of Roman imperial power presided over the destiny of each successive Emperor. It was this imperial genius which elevated the emperor to the position of divinity. Ordinarily the Roman Emperor did not really and seriously regard himself as divine. "Doubtless Augustus, in giving sanction to the worship of his genius, had no thought of any deification of himself" (Eakin: *Getting Acquainted With the N. T.*, page 266). But in the East the case was different. The religious psychology of the Orient was quite susceptible to the appeal of a defied man. From the remote past kings had been regarded as divine beings, and looked upon with a reverence which is scarcely to be distinguished from worship. Alexander had been looked upon as a god by his conquered peoples, and Pompey had made a like impression. Thus the Asiatic mind had no difficulty in raising each individual Emperor to the pedestal of deity, and the Emperors did not hesitate to take advantage of this psychological trait. As a result Eastern Christianity had the most severe struggle with this form of opposition, particularly in Asia Minor.

The Jewish Diaspora

When the first Christian missionaries faced their world-encompassing task, the Jews were spread over almost the entire Mediterranean world. This distribution of the Jews, known as the *Diaspora*, or "Dispersion," began in Egypt as early as the time of Jeremiah (cf. Jer. 14:16, 17). Alexander colonized a number of Jews in Egypt, and his policy was continued by the Ptolemies. The disturbances which were attendant upon the conquests and struggles of the Greek age threw the eastern world into a very unsettled state, in consequence of which the Jews joined many other peoples of that region in wandering from place to place. Many Jews remained in Babylonia after the Restoration, and from there it is quite probable that colonies were formed in various parts of the Syrian empire by the Seleucidae. Antiochus the Great transported a large colony of Jews from Mesopotamia into Lydia and Phrygia in Asia Minor, in an effort to stabalize conditions among the seditious

inhabitants of that region. Many of them for purposes of trade or other advantages migrated into the Greek cities. Hence by the beginning of the Roman period the Jews were distributed through the greater part of the Eastern world, and were still maintaining tenaciously their racial identity and religious heritage. When Pomey captured Jerusalem he carried back to Rome as captives many hundreds of Jews, thus extending the Diaspora into the Western world. A reference in Strabo seems to indicate that there were Jews in Rome even before the time of Pompey (cf. Schurer: *op. cit.*, II, ii, page 221). This may be regarded as highly probable. During New Testament times there were Jews in practically every part of the Roman Empire.

The majority of the Roman emperors were very tolerant of Judaism, and so permitted the religion to become well established in their domains. The Jews had a synagogue in every city of any considerable size or importance. Consequently, we find that as Paul proceeds on his missionary tours he visits only one place in which he fails to find a synagogue; namely, Philippi. Services were held in these synagogues regularly, at least on the sabbath, so that it could be said in literal truth, "Moses from generations of old hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath" (Acts 15:22). At the sabbath exercises of the synagogue three classes of people usually assembled. There were Jews, Gentile proselytes, and Gentiles who were interested and sympathetic, but who had not submitted to the ceremonial requirements of the Jewish religion. The last mentioned class were called "God-fearers" (cf. Acts 10:16). The spiritual nature of the Jewish religion made it popular in the first century, though the bigoted exclusiveness of many Jews prejudiced the majority of the Gentiles against them. Converts from the Jews and proselytes always formed the nucleus around which Paul built his churches. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the service of the Diaspora to the initial propagation of the Christian religion.

In very brief review we have scanned the religious situation of the Graeco-Roman world. We have seen in it the fact which has faced us in every other phase of this investigation. There appear in each successive feature as it passes in review abundant reasons for believing that an All-wise Providence was molding

the situation in such way as to make it best adapted to welcome and effectively appropriate the redemptive message of the Christ. God has not only been active in redemption, but in the world which was to be redeemed.

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INDEX

Topic	Page
Agrippa I	54
Alexander Jannaeus	43
Alexandra, queen	44
Antiochus Epiphanes	34
Antipater	48
Apocrypha	107
Archelaus	51
Aristobulus I	43
Aristobulus II	45
Asmonean dynasty	42
Atonement, day of	68
Augustus Caesar	135
Burial rites of Jews	91
Burial ritesl in Graeco-Roman world	181
Caligula	136
Child in Roman world	169
Christianity in Roman Empire	134
Claudius Caesar	137
Decapolis	21
Dedication, feast of	68
Dispersion, Jews of the	201
Domitian	138
Economic conditions in the Roman Empire	170
Economic environment, significance of	10
Economic life in Palestine	81
Education of Jews	86
Education in Roman world	143
Egyptian rule	30
Emperor worship	200
Enlightenment of first century world	143
Essenes	76
Feasts of the Jews	66
Galilee	20
Geography of Palestine	13
Government in Palestine	80
Greek culture	139
Greek language	139
Greek period in Jewish history	29
Greek philosophy	146
Graeco-Roman homes	164
Graeco-Roman society	163
Hellenistic influence	31, 33, 78, 103
Herodians	75
Herod Antipas	52
Herod the Great	49
Herod Philip	52
Historical approach to N. T.,	
elements of	9
limitations of	7
meaning of	1
method of	6
reasons for	2
steps in	6
Home life of the Jews	85
Home life in Roman world	164
Houses of the Jews	85
Houses in Roman world	165
Human relations of N. T.	3
Human individualty in N. T.	3
Human experience in N. T.	4
Hyrcanus II	45
Idumeans	48
Inscriptions, bearing on N. T.	142
Intellectual environment, significance of	11
Interbiblical period	23
Judaism, history of	23
Judaism, origin of	25
Judas Maccabaeus	36
Judea	21
Jewish literature	100
John Hyrcanus	42
Jonathan the Maccabean	40
Land of Judaism	13
Law observance of Jews	87
Levites	66
Life of Judaism	57
Literature of Judaism	100
Maccabean brothers	35
Macedonian rule	29
Messiah	91
Moral conditions in Roman world	182
Moral environment, significance of	11
Mystery-religions	193
Nero	137
Ostraca, bearing on N. T.	142
Palestine, cities of	13
Palestine, civil government of	80
Palestine, climate of	13
Palestine, roads in	15
Papyri	141
Passover	67

INDEX

Topic	Page
Pentecost	67
Perea	21
Persian period in Jewish history	24
Pharisees	71
Philosophy, Greek	141
Pilate	53
Place of N. T. in history	5
Political environment, signifance of	10
Priests	64
Procurators	52, 55
Publicans	53
Purim	67
Religious environment, significance of	11
Religion in Roman world	187
Revolt of the Jews	56
Roads in Palestine	15
Rome and religion	133
Roman army	132
Roman emperors	135
Roman Empire	126
Roman governors in Judea	52, 55
Roman rule in Palestine	46
Roman provinces	130
Sadducees	73
Samaria	20
Sanhedrin	68
Scribes	25, 89
Sects of Jews	70
Septuagint	105
Simon the Maccabean	40
Social Life of Judaism	78
Social classes of Jews	86
Social environment, significance of	11
Social life in Roman Empire	177
Soldier emperors	138
Syangogue	57
Syrian rule in Palestine	32
Tabernacles, feast of	68
Taxation, Roman	131
Temple	62
Tiberius Caesar	136
Titus	138
Travel in Roman Empire	176
Value of religious experience in N. T.	8
Vespasian	138
Woman in the Roman world	169
Zadokites	77
Zealots	75